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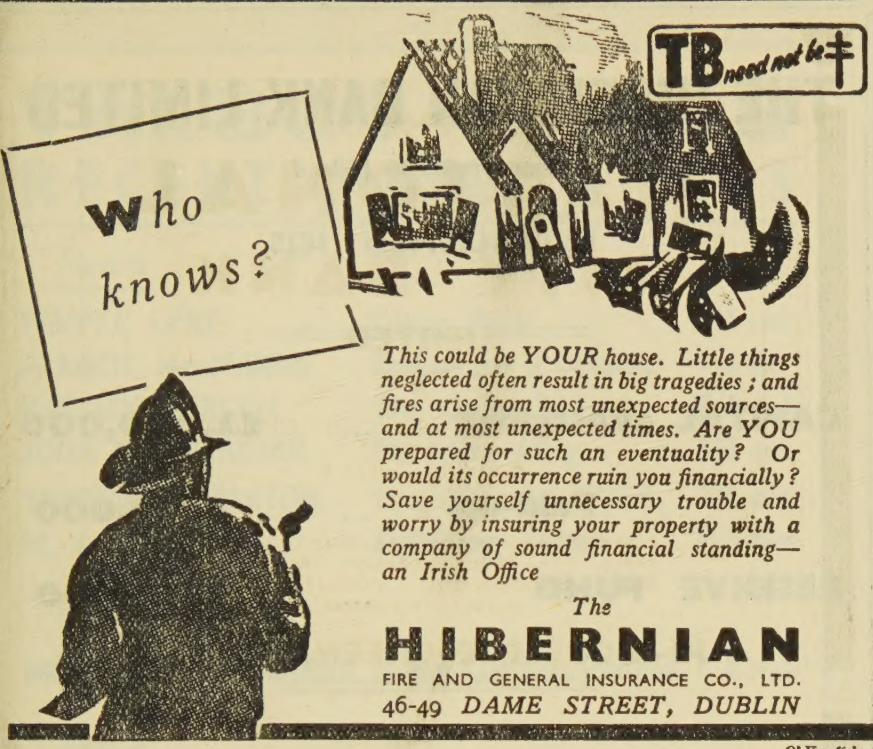

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OHN MAC NEILL (to use the form of his name that was most familiar to his contemporaries) was born at Glenarm, Co. Antrim, on 15 May 867. On both father's and mother's side he came of sturdy local farming ock. These had resisted powerful efforts to uproot them from the soil, id remained true as steel to the old loyalties, had scorned the way of the uisling and the collaborationist to material well-being, had preserved ntarnished the " good blood " in their veins from generation to generation. ohn's grandmother was Mary O'Neill, who traced her ancestry back to oirdhealbhach Breasalach, grandson of Conn Bacach, King of the Cineál ogain and Earl of Tyrone in the sixteenth century. Ultimately the line ent back, through Niall Glúndub, King of Ireland (progenitor of the lster O'Neills) and a series of eight other High Kings, to the mighty iall of the Nine Hostages in the fourth century. His father was Archibald Gilla Easbuig) Mac Neill of Carnegies, member of a family part-Gaelic, art-Norse in blood and culture, that had come to Ireland in the wake Eoin Mór Mac Donnell, son of Eoin na h-Ile (John of Islay) when oin Mór married Margery Bisset, heiress to the Antrim Glens, about e year 1400. By this marriage the Mac Donnells established themselves strength on the Irish side of the North Channel. The Mac Neills ere settled on the Scottish mainland at Cantire and in the adjacent and of Gigha, a region with which they retained close connections for long time after their emigration. With the branch that migrated to arra, in the Outer Hebrides, the Antrim Mac Neills seem to have had intercourse.[1]

Archibald Mac Neill was trained in the shipbuilding trade. As a oung man he travelled in the crew of a sailing ship to Archangel, where e ship was ice-bound for a whole winter, an experience that left him fund of interesting recollections. Tiring of boats and seafaring he pened a shop for general wares at Glenarm, set up a bakery that supplied read to the coastal area of Cushendall and Cushendun, undertook building ntracts, acquired fields for his horses and farmed in a minor way at e side of the glen. The carpentry required by his large business he ntinued to do himself. John was fascinated by this work ; and a boyish gerness to handle tools was to remain with him through life. His

[1] For this and other biographical matter I am much indebted to some autobiographical notes left by the subject of this article and kindly placed at my disposal by rs. Mac Neill.

practical knowledge of ordinary farming operations—sowing potatoes, saving hay, cutting oats, looking after horses, cattle and pigs—gave him an insight into rural life that no reading could supply. In fact this time " wasted about the place " was probably the most valuable part of his youthful education.

His first instruction in letters came from governesses. Their efforts were no doubt praiseworthy, but their memory did not inspire him with ardour for later Feminism. At the age of eight he was sent to the local Protestant primary school. The Catholics of Glenarm had then no school of their own—and neither church nor chapel. They heard Mass on Sundays and holydays in a long barn over a set of stables. Soon afterwards, however, a church was built (by Archibald Mac Neill as contractor) and the barn was transformed into a Catholic school for girls. John's stay in the Protestant school was uneventful save for the incident which brought it to an abrupt close. He had reached that stage in learning when an interesting book makes a greater appeal than a boring teacher. One day then, while the master expounded, John read. He was caught in the act and ordered, in the sacred phrase, to hold out his hand. He refused. Punishment, he thought, would be unjust, since the master was not worth listening to ! There was but one alternative, to take up his books and go ; so he took up his books and went. In those days the practice was to thrash the boy first and make enquiries afterwards. Archibald Mac Neill, for whatever reason, began with the investigations. The decision was that John should not return. It was arranged that a Mr. Maguire, who had arrived a short time before to take charge of the new girls' school, should teach him at home privately. For the happy results of this unexpected change the pupil was enduringly grateful.

Unlike his brothers, Charles, James and Hugh, John was not sent to Belvedere College, Dublin, for his secondary education. That part of his career was spent entirely at St. Malachy's College, Belfast, where he entered as a boarder in 1881 at the age of fourteen. Some few years before, in 1877, the Intermediate Education Act had been put into operation. It provided an urgently needed endowment for the schools, till then universally poverty-stricken, on condition that they subjected themselves to a measure of governmental control. Features of the system were a common syllabus of courses, imposed from above, and a centralized annual examination in which students showed the efficacy of their " education " by the brilliance of their " results ". School was thus pitted against school in an intellectual race of epic grandeur. With agitated parents, frenzied teachers, an excited press clamouring in the enclosure, competition reached heights of Homeric ferocity that are still vividly remembered by survivors. Professor Eoin Mac Neill could speak scathingly of this Curragh Cup concept of secondary education ; but the youthful John Mac Neill hardly saw much amiss with it when, among all the boys

f Ireland, he secured Third Place in Junior Grade, Second Place in Middle Grade, and First Place in Senior Grade. Latin, Greek, French, English, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Geography were the ubjects which he studied. Though Irish (disguised as Celtic) had a place n the curriculum—which it owed to the influence of the O'Conor Don—t was taken at St. Malachy's by one boy only. His name was John Mac Erlean. The scholarly distinction of the edition of Dánta, Amhráin is Caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn, and of the poems of O Bruadair, by Fr. John Mac Erlean, S.J., is a tribute to the solid ground work laid by his Belfast utor.

Having matriculated in the Royal University of Ireland in 1885 and won a scholarship in Modern Languages, John Mac Neill began to study or the B.A. degree. He continued to reside as a boarder in St. Malachy's. An interruption came in the spring of 1887 when a vacancy was announced or a Junior Clerkship in the Law Courts, Dublin. The position had its ttractions ; so he set the degree course aside for the moment and switched over to the special programme for the Civil Service post. In the examination hat followed he secured first place ; after which he returned to his niversity studies and passed the Second Arts examination in summer. On August 2, 1887, he took up work in the Accountant General's office t the Four Courts. Profiting by opportunity he attended law lectures t the King's Inns and Trinity College, but gave most of his spare time o the Third Year Course in Arts. In 1888 he obtained the B.A. degree f the Royal University of Ireland in the group Economics, Jurisprudence nd Constitutional History.

This brought Mac Neill to the parting of the ways. With such obvious bility as he possessed, he might reasonably hope to reach the top in more han one career. He might, for instance, complete his studies in law and ry his fortune at the Bar. A lucrative practice and one or more of several uscious plums could reward success in that field. Or he might concentrate n the Civil Service, secure and enhance a reputation for reliability and xtreme usefulness as a cog in the administrative machine, and thus arrive t the enjoyment of comfort, influence and power in the inner sanctum f Dublin Castle. Or he might follow the bent of his own genius and let ime disclose the goal to which that would bring him.

Happily for the nation Mac Neill's choice was the last-mentioned ourse. Hitherto he had studied no Irish. The Gaelic tongue was almost ead in Glenarm, and his companions hitherto had shown no interest n it. To read the archaic script and to understand the simplest words vas therefore beyond him. He was anxious to discover the structure of he language and to learn something about its literature ; so he looked round for suitable books. Those of Canon Ulick Bourke alone proved elpful. Having culled from these as much as they could provide, he ealized that he could make little further progress without a teacher.

It is a commentary on the status of Irish in Dublin in the year 1888 that in such a search he had not the faintest notion where to turn. An advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* brought two replies from the country and one from the capital. He engaged the city applicant, only to find that he had engaged a professional beggar—whose stock of knowledge, moreover, was exhausted after eight lessons. For the next two years he struggled along as best he could without tutorial aid.

At the beginning of 1890 Mac Neill decided to establish contact as soon as possible with native speakers. His friend Dean O'Loan of Maynooth, to whom he wrote for advice, asked him to apply to Fr. Eoghan O'Growney, then a curate at Ballymacardea, Co. Westmeath. Fr. O'Growney recommended that he should go to Inis Meadhon, the Middle Island of Aran, where he had studied the living speech himself with much profit. The counsel looked good ; so in the summer of 1890 Mac Neill spent two weeks among the islanders. In the following years the visits were prolonged. Wife and children joined him in due course. His grandchildren had grown into men and women when he visited Aran for the last time in 1944, to renew friendships that death could not destroy, but merely interrupt.

Meanwhile Mac Neill had taken up the study of Old and Middle Irish under the guidance of Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., in University College, St. Stephen's Green. Lectures were of an informal character and given perforce in the evening, since the pupil was occupied in the Four Courts by day. Soon Mac Neill became Fr. Hogan's " apprentice " or specialist helper. He was given much work to do and was left to his own resources in the doing of it, the professor contenting himself with a final revision before the material was sent to press. This suited Mac Neill's taste and gave scope to his exceptional talents. In one respect the association was to have a decisive influence on his life. Fr. Hogan's real leaning was towards history ; his interest in the language, though deep, was secondary. There was an old historical text, the *Cath Ruis na Rig for Bóinn* (Battle of Rosnaree), which he was anxious to publish. Mac Neill was entrusted with the remote preparation, the spadework, for this edition. When he came to write the notes, he realized with a shock that he knew almost nothing of early Irish history. O'Donovan and O'Curry were dead, and the books they had left behind, so full of erudition and so admirable in many ways, failed to provide a solution for most of his problems. From that time forward early Irish history had an uppermost place in his thoughts.

Work on the older tongue brought him regularly to that great repository of Irish manuscripts, the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Among those who frequented its reading room were three men whom Mac Neill came to know and respect as kindred spirits. They were John Hogan (likewise a pupil of Fr. Hogan at St. Stephen's Green), James Cogan

nd T. O'Neill Russell—shunned by many as " the greatest crank in Christendom," but a man of excellent parts. The four were enthusiasts or the Irish language. Its prospects, however, they regarded as dismal. t was obvious that nothing short of a national movement supported by he sympathy of the whole people could save it from extinction. How o organize such a campaign was a subject constantly discussed. There vas no practical result until a lecture delivered in New York by Dr. Douglas Hyde happened to be reported fully in the Dublin papers. It showed a love for the native tongue equal to their own. When Dr. Hyde returned to Ireland in the summer of 1893, the little group met him and asked him to participate in the formation of a popular body along the ines they had planned. He agreed ; and on July 30, 1893, the Gaelic League made its bow to the Irish people.

Its first officers were Dr. Hyde as President, John Mac Neill as Honorary Secretary and John Hogan as Honorary Treasurer. The League held weekly meetings, at which the routine procedure was an hour of class followed by an hour of conversation or discussion in Irish. Those who knew a little of the language taught those who knew less ; those who could speak, however haltingly, spoke. Among the regular attendants was Michael Cusack, founder of the G.A.A., a native of north Clare and a most useful member because of his fluency as a speaker. Branches were founded in the south and west. A protest from Cork that the group in Dublin were arrogating to themselves too much authority and acting as vest-pocket dictators, led to the establishment of the Oireachtas, or Annual Gaelic Festival, on the model of the Welsh Eisteddfod. Its first meeting, described as " the most representative assembly held in modern times of the speakers, students and lovers of the native language in Ireland " took place at Dublin in May 1897.

For just twenty years the Gaelic League was the only organization of a national character with which Mac Neill's name was associated. It was sufficient to make him a personality of eminence in public life. Within he League there were controversies into which he entered on occasion vith zest. In its external relations the Gaelic League had to meet active as well as passive resistance. There was the dead weight of popular apathy ; there was the sincere view that its sponsors were wasting, on a vill-o'-the-wisp, time and energy that ought to have been devoted to the emoval of dirt and poverty ; there were suspicions of general motives nd disapproval of methods in particular cases ; there was, above all, the conviction that its non-political constitution did not save it from being a ecret enemy and a menace to the country's dominant political party. Mac Neill's hands were therefore full. In addition to his editorial work of which presently) and the daily burthen of correspondence, he had to ttend meetings and undertake diplomatic missions in distant towns and illages. He travelled at his own expense, mostly by night-trains, as he

had to attend to his duties each day in the Four Courts—the more diligently since his activities as secretary of the Gaelic League were frowned upon by his official superiors. This meant burning the candle at both ends—with the inevitable consequence that the strain proved too much even for his excellent health. Good medical care brought him through, but the breakdown left him with one permanent peculiarity, a reluctance—which he could never overcome—to face immediately urgent tasks, like the writing of letters.

It is probable that the chief cause of Mac Neill's physical collapse was not the work of organizing—hard as that admittedly was—but the labour of editing the *Gaelic Journal*. This periodical had come into being in 1882, at a time when the Irish language was at the very nadir of its fortunes. Financed by the Celtic Union the Journal was edited first by David Comyn, then fitfully by John Fleming, after him for three years by Fr. Eoghan O'Growney. When the health of the last-mentioned failed, the Journal passed to the Gaelic League, as a property or a liability, and to John Mac Neill as editor. His opening number, in November 1894, contained also the opening instalment of " Séadna," whose author, Fr. Peter O'Leary—the best known and best loved figure in modern Irish literature—became Mac Neill's friend and stayed regularly in his house when he was up in town. An t-Athair Peadar was soon joined by other brilliant contributors—Seosamh Laoide, Pádraig O Laoghaire, Osborn Bergin, Tomás O Conceannáin, Micheál O Máille, Torna. But the Journal's most remarkable feature was the wealth and quality of the notes appended to various texts by Mac Neill. He was becoming day by day more conversant with the living tongue ; from it he had found a bridge to early Modern and Middle Irish ; thence he was probing his way backwards to Old Irish—the scientific study of which was then advancing in Germany, France and elsewhere—and beyond Old Irish to the earliest surviving traces of the Celtic languages. There was a width of perception and a sureness of touch about these notes which showed unmistakably the hand of the master. A new star had appeared in the firmament of Irish learning.

James Cogan died young of tuberculosis. Fr. Eoghan O'Growney, while Professor of Irish at Maynooth, became stricken with the same malady, and had to migrate to California in the hope of saving his life. When Mac Neill took over from him the editorship of the Gaelic Journal, he took over also the " Easy Lessons in Irish " which Fr. O'Growney, at the suggestion of Archbishop Walsh, had in part prepared for the *Weekly Freeman*. Mac Neill completed the preparation of these lessons, saw the manuscript through the press week by week, and finally issued the " Lessons " to the public in booklet form on behalf of the Gaelic League. Two or three times a month he wrote to Fr. O'Growney at Los Angeles and Fr. O'Growney wrote as often in return. The correspondence continued until the death of the poor sufferer in October 1899.

his fine collection of letters was removed from Mac Neill's house by ıe Black and Tans.

Owing to the breakdown of 1899 Mac Neill relinquished the editorship f the *Gaelic Journal* (finding as successors Seosamh Laoide and Torna), ut he did not altogether cease to contribute articles to it. His troubles ith writers and printers were not, however, over. On St. Patrick's Day f the same year, 1899, An Claidheamh Soluis made its appearance eplacing Fáinne an Lae, which had been launched by a section of the eague a year earlier) as a weekly organ of the movement. Mac Neill ad been appointed editor of this paper, and he remained in office until ıcceeded by a paid journalist in 1903. The growth of the League's ctivities had rendered necessary a similar change, and Pádraig O Dálaigh ad become its secretary in 1902.

It goes without saying that Mac Neill was proud of the Gaelic League. ts success was the sole reward he asked for the generous and devoted ervice he had given to it through the years. In 1906 he was delighted o find its significance emphasized by a mind of unusual independence, cumen and strength. Most Reverend Dr. O'Dwyer, in a Preface which e contributed to Fr. Begley's *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, wrote : " The Gaelic revival is at work, and its influence is lt in the quickening of the intellect of the people and its direction towards ings that are generally supposed to be academic and speculative but re, in truth, the principles and sources of national life. The study of ur language and our history is the starting-point of the new progressive ovement among our people, and if it is maintained will carry them far n the road of political and material regeneration." It is difficult to say hether this praise of the past or this prophecy of future achievement, om one notoriously prone to wield a trenchant pen, gave the greater nsolation to Mac Neill and his friends.

When the Act establishing the National University of Ireland was assing through the British Parliament in 1908 Mac Neill threw himself art and soul into the campaign for " compulsory " Irish as a subject the normal Matriculation examination. The demand was resisted gorously, mainly on academic grounds, and the ensuing struggle had embarrassments and its victims. Mac Neill's pamphlet " Irish in the ational University," published in 1909, gave an admirable summary of e place of the Irish language in Irish education since the foundation of rinity College in the late sixteenth century. In the event, as is well own, the League's agitation gathered enough popular support to get e proposal carried.

A few years later the Gaelic League itself was confronted with a demand r a radical change in its own constitution. Hitherto it had been strictly n-political, and many men of differing views had worked industriously d harmoniously together in furthering its aims. The cry was now

raised that it should abandon its original principles and policy and become a semi-political organization. At the Oireachtas held at Dundalk in 1915 Mac Neill pleaded strongly for the innovation and rallied to his side the majority of the delegates. Dr. Douglas Hyde, who had been President of the League for twenty-two years, immediately resigned. Mac Neill was convinced that in the crisis through which the country was then passing everything should be subordinated to the national interest; but he came afterwards to believe, and humbly to confess, that he had acted unwisely, and had helped in doing his beloved League a great, perhaps irreparable, wrong.

Mac Neill's reputation as a scholar had meanwhile steadily grown. Not having a passion for petty accuracy, he could never become the ideal text-editor, but he had gifts which more than compensated for this lack. Thus the volume *Duanaire Finn*, published in 1908, contains an introductory essay on the origin of the Fenian epic which none but he could have written; whilst his contribution to the Scoto-Irish text *Alasdair Mac Colla* is remarkable for the exquisite classical quality of its Irish. Alasdar Mac Donnell, son of the famous Colkitto, had played a prominent part in the Covenant Wars on the side of Montrose and had fallen fighting against Inchiquin and the Parliamentarians at Knocknanoss in 1647. His exploits were recounted by Niall Mhac Mhuireadhaigh, representative of a family that for centuries had served as chroniclers to the Lords of the Isles. Mac Neill's Irish compared favourably in purity and finish with the Irish of this professional author, who was steeped in a Gaelic tradition that went back to druidic times. Those who read it now may well ask themselves whether the exaltation of the modern dialects as the canonized medium of literary expression has not been a mistake.

Fr. Hogan had urged Mac Neill to make early Irish history his special study and the pupil had willingly complied. His fame in that field was established by a series of lectures delivered, at Fr. Delany's request, in University College, in 1904. Their substance was published a couple of years later in the *New Ireland Review*. Three of the titles—"Where does Irish History begin?", "Relation of the Ulster Epic to history," "The Irish Synthetic Historians"—indicate clearly Mac Neill's determination to grapple with the fundamental problems. For the first time since historical study became a science the native records dealing with ancient Ireland were critically investigated. He showed that an immense amount of what passed for history was invented in the Early Middle Ages by the learned class. Their motive was intelligible—a patriotic desire to provide their own country with an antiquity as impressive as that of Israel, Greece and Rome. By force of frequent repetition the fiction was established as genuine tradition. Mac Neill cleared away this débris of barren legend, and then set himself to tell the tale of what really happened. He was then a pioneer—for great men like O'Donovan and O'Curry had undertaken

such task—with no compass save his own intelligence to guide him rough a strange, uncharted sea. It can be said now that his criticism s remained unquestioned and that his reconstruction, in essential parts, s stood the test of time. The picture which today prevails of early sh history goes back to him and no further. One of his main conclusions, gely intuitive, has been shown by the recent elaborate study of the *bor Gabálae* (a study in which Van Hamel, Macalister, Mac Neill mself, but, above all, Thurneysen figured) to have been absolutely rrect.

Useful papers on the meaning of the Old Irish word *moccu* and on a storical tract of date A.D. 721 were followed in 1909 and 1911 by two arned articles of the highest value. These were a study of the distribution, aracter, orthography, accidence, syntax and terminology of the Ogham scriptions, the earliest form of the Irish language known ; and a tract the nomenclature, classification and chronology of early Irish population oups. Now in his full stride as a gifted historian he published " Notes the Laud Genealogies " (1912), " On the Reconstruction and Date the Laud Synchronisms " (1915), " The Authorship and Structure of e Annals of Tigernach " (1914). This essay on Tigernach is a classic its kind. The death of a Tigernach Ua Broein, *airchinnech* of Clon-acnois, was chronicled under the year 1088. Mac Neill demonstrated ow successive writers—Ware, Charles O'Conor, O'Curry, Whitley Stokes " found satisfaction in building up a personality and a reputation where preceding centuries showed nothing but a name ". Poor Tigernach st overnight the medal *Pour le mérite* which Stokes had granted him r being " the only Irish chronicler honest enough to admit that some his materials were uncertain ". This took place, it is but just to add, cidentally ; for Mac Neill's purpose in the essay was to discover the urces and the methods of the old Irish *literati* and to throw light on eir efforts to find a footing in the great morass of mediaeval chronology.

When Irish Summer Schools were founded, Mac Neill became incipal of that which was set up at Omeath. There he stayed with his mily year after year during session. Archbishop Walsh had appointed m Irish teacher at the Training College, Drumcondra, where evening asses occupied four hours each week. Hc was also a member of the atholic Scholarships Committee. This body met regularly at the rchbishop's house to administer funds for the benefit of students at niversity College. When the Irish Universities Act of 1908 became w, he was placed on the Committee which regulated the application of e Act to the Dublin College. His standing as a scholar was so high at in due course he was appointed Professor of Early Irish History. the same time he became a member of the Governing Body of University llege, Dublin, and a member of the Senate of the National University Ireland. Almost at once he did his College a lasting service, for he went

to Berlin and purchased, on behalf of the Governing Body, a fine collection of books and periodicals that had belonged to the celebrated Celticist, Heinrich Zimmer. Thus was provided for students the main portion of the Zimmer Library, an aid to those taking courses in Celtic Studies that has no parellel in any other University.

Just when the new Dublin College began to take shape a series of events occurred that transformed the already acute Irish political situation. In 1912 the struggle for Home Rule was at last reaching its climax. Mr. Asquith's weak government was being propelled to a point where, unless pressure from the other side proved to be the greater, it might conceivably redeem its pledge to the Irish Party and set up a Parliament for all Ireland in Dublin. The minority in Ulster, led by Sir Edward Carson, organized armed resistance to the measure. Mac Neill believed firmly that Carson acted with the connivance of more than one member of the English Liberal Home Rule government. At any rate Carson's covenanting Volunteer force was allowed to pitch legality to the winds and develop unchecked for about two years. Mac Neill considered that the proper answer to this challenge would be the formation of a rival Volunteer Force throughout the rest of Ireland. He gave vigorous expression to this view in an article published in An Claidheamh Soluis. The idea was taken up enthusiastically by that small section of the Irish national movement which had always rejected constitutionalism in favour of physical force. Mac Neill's advocacy was to them a godsend, for he was universally respected as a man of moderation and good sense. A meeting was promptly called and a committee constituted to organize the formation of an army of Irish Volunteers. The response, though a little hesitant at first, was promising. Dublin Castle showed its alarm by forbidding forthwith the importation of arms; Mr. Asquith bewailed in the House of Commons the "serious complication"; Mr. Redmond and the Irish Party were thrown into a state of anxiety; for this armed force, whose *raison d'être* was to support their policy, was outside their control. Soon Mr. Redmond thought well to insist that the majority of the Board which governed the Volunteers should consist of his own nominees.

Such unity as remained was short-lived. In August 1914, England became involved in a world war of unprecedented magnitude. Redmond and his followers supported the British war effort; Mac Neill and his followers did not. One policy favoured the sending of the Volunteers to Flanders, there to fight for Europe's small nationalities; the other policy favoured the keeping of the Volunteers at home, there to safeguard the interests of the one small nationality nearest to them, their own. When the split came in September 1914, MacNeill remained head of a minority that reverted to the original title, "Irish Volunteers". He was also editor of its weekly journal.

These feeble battalions, assisted by a miniature Citizens' Army, were

ined to alter the course of Irish history: for it is they who braved might of the British Empire and endeavoured to set up an Irish ublic in 1916. To discuss the vexed question of Mac Neill's connection ı the Rebellion is beyond the scope of this article. He was condemned ı British court-martial to penal servitude for life. From Kilmainham on he was transported to Dartmoor and later, with the other Irish oners, to Lewes in Sussex. Then, rather suddenly, in June 1917 e a general release.

Back in Dublin Mac Neill attended a conference of the Sinn Féin y and declared for a policy of complete independence. As there was prospect of setting up an Irish monarchy, the alternative was an Irish ublic. At an election in Clare this was made the issue and Mr. de era won triumphantly. The victory was followed by another in kenny city, where Mr. W. T. Cosgrave was the candidate. By the ng of 1918, when Lloyd George tried to conscript Irishmen for his ies, Sinn Féin had grown into a powerful political force. Mac Neill a member of the Central Committee which met at least once a week Harcourt Street to direct the party campaign. As the General Election December 1918 approached, he represented Sinn Féin, while Mr. John lon represented the Irish Parliamentary Party, in negotiations to prevent split of the nationalist vote in eight Ulster constituencies. At this ction Sinn Féin swept the country, and Mac Neill was elected to two s—one in the National University and one in the city of Derry.

In January 1919, the Sinn Féin elected members met in Dublin to up a Parliament, Dáil Eireann, of their own, and to establish a govern- ıt that would be responsible to it alone. This meant open repudiation the British Crown and treason from the standpoint of English law. c Neill was a Minister in the new Republican government. From the itary point of view the situation was ludicrous, for the British govern- ıt could put into the field an army greater than the total population Ireland, while a few destroyers and a few aeroplanes could reduce in ay every Irish town to ruins. But there were chinks in the British iour. Mac Neill liked to emphasize three: the support given to Carson, ch had undermined the authority of law; the attempt to enforce ıscription, which had sapped the loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary; the Black and Tan campaign, which united the whole people in a giant spiracy against British power.

Personally Mac Neill was convinced that Mr. Winston Churchill was ponsible for the "strong" line taken by the British leaders. Irish stance, organized by a man of genius, Michael Collins, had to consist nly in obstruction and guerilla attacks. Mac Neill was one of the minent men arrested, subjected to insults and indignities, and lodged many months in Mountjoy Prison. When it became clear that neither Irish government nor the British government could rule Ireland—

since each had resources enough to make rule by the other impossible—the time was ripe for negotiations. Mac Neill had no part in these, beyond warning Mr. de Valera that he should accept no nominee of the British government as chairman or umpire in any attempt that might be made to solve the problem of Partition.

Mac Neill was Speaker of the Dáil when the Treaty of December 1921 was debated, but resigned to become Minister of Education in the Provisional Government in 1922. As a member of Mr. Cosgrave's administration he attended a meeting of the Imperial Conference in London, meetings of the League of Nations at Geneva, and celebrations in honour of St. Columban at Bobbio in 1923. He continued in office until 1925.

Clause 12 of the 1921 Treaty provided for a revision of the boundary between the Six Counties and the rest of Ireland " in accordance with the will of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions ". Mac Neill, from the beginning, raised objections to this clause because of its unsatisfactory wording. To find out the wishes of the people was easy enough, but who was to decide the exact meaning that was to be attached to " economic and geographic conditions " ? In the event of differences the Chairman of the Commission, who would represent the British Government, would have the dominating voice.

Despite his disgust at the very idea of such a Commission—it was an outrage, he often repeated, against civilization to draw a dividing line across Ireland—Mac Neill consented to act upon it when it was constituted. It would seem thus as if he put his hand into what he knew quite well to be the lion's mouth. His explanation was that Mr. Cosgrave and the Government asked him to do so and that they could find nobody else. When the Commission began its work the British Empire chairman, Mr. Justice Feetham, indicated in questions to witnesses that nothing was contemplated save the making of minor adjustments in the boundary fixed by the Act of 1920. Lord Birkenhead and others in London hoped openly for a result that would give increased territory to the Six County government. That the enquiry might end in a report favouring small gains on one side or the other was obviously possible. Mac Neill believed that the Irish government was lucky to escape so lightly from a danger inherent in the clause itself. In the event the 1920 boundary was left untouched ; the financial claims of Britain on Ireland admitted in the Treaty were allowed to lapse ; and Mac Neill contended that, if the demand for the remission of the Land Annuity payments had then been made, it would have been readily granted. Attacks upon himself as if he alone were responsible for the Treaty, or for Clause 12 in it, he could never understand. To unworthy insinuations that his failure to secure adjustments meant guilty responsibility for the Border itself and looked like " selling the country " he disdained to reply.

According to his own confession Mac Neill never had the slightest kering after public life and entered it only to oblige others. It was refore with a sincere sigh of relief that he returned in 1925 to the genial atmosphere of the University. Henceforward his semi-public earances—as Chairman of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, as sident of the Royal Irish Academy, as President of the Royal Society Antiquaries of Ireland, as President of the Irish Historical Society—uld be before comparatively small audiences of loyal friends.

In the hectic years that had passed between the Rebellion and his irement from the Government Mac Neill had never become completely arated from his books. A subject very dear to him, " The Norse ngdom of the Hebrides," had been discussed in the *Scottish Review* 1916. " The Irish Law of Dynastic Succession " appeared in STUDIES 1919. In the same year he published *Phases of Irish History*, the one torical book of major size that bears his name. Its origin serves to ustrate another aspect of his career. In the opening years of the century Gaelic League was seriously hampered by the difficulty in getting oks in Irish printed. Mac Neill and some enterprising colleagues ved the problem by establishing a printing press—An Cló-chumann edhealach—of their own. The venture failed, leaving him burthened th a heavy load of debt. Then came the expenses of the Volunteer npaign. Penal servitude brought the temporary loss of his professorship University College ; nor was the post restored when he returned from wes and Pentonville in 1917. For a while his circumstances were so aitened that he had to seek some remedy. As a measure of relief he de up his mind to give a series of public lectures on early Irish history. ejudice against Sinn Féin was still felt in the capital and it was not sy to hire a hall. The Rotunda was eventually secured, and the lectures re delivered before large and enthusiastic audiences. Those of us o had been in his class in University College knew what to expect ; t to Dubliners generally the matter was entirely new. It was, indeed, e fruit of many years of laborious research and exhausting study. More pressive than his erudition was the sound common-sense that governed his judgments. The old-fashioned were disappointed to find the rich ythology of early Irish literature ignored as a historical source ; but ac Neill, like Thurneysen, thought this a sterile field, since the evidence mitted contradictory interpretations, equally convincing and equally nconvincing. In response to a universal demand the lectures were thered into a volume and published under the title already mentioned. *ltic Ireland*, which may be regarded as a supplement to *Phases*, appeared 1921. He returned to his post as Professor of Early Irish History in 19.

While in Mountjoy Prison in 1920-1921 he was allowed to receive r recreational reading the five large published tomes of the Brehon

Laws. For whatever reason the sixth volume, which is an imperfect but useful glossary of the legal terms, never reached him. It goes without saying that *Hilfsmittel* for the study of so exotic a subject were not liberally provided in the gaol library! He thus had to struggle unaided through language of proverbial difficulty. As a result of this prison labour he read before the Royal Irish Academy, and had published in 1923, a paper entitled "Ancient Irish Law: the Law of Status or Franchise." Its quality may be judged from the comment attributed to Thurneysen that "any really patriotic government would keep Mac Neill in gaol for nine months each year!" (In fact this remark was made by a pupil at a social gathering in Thurneysen's home. It gave immense joy to the great Professor, who repeated it so often that it came very justly to be regarded as his own). That the tract had defects is intelligible; but it is admitted to be a valuable contribution to the study of Ancient Irish Law. Mac Neill's interest in this branch of knowledge continued. The lectures given on it in the United States were published in the New York University Law Quarterly Review (1930) and were later made the substance of a book called *Early Irish Laws and Institutions*.

Another study of his predilection was the life of St. Patrick. He identified the Saint's birthplace and the Wood of Fochlud, whence came the voices that were to entice the zealous Patrick back to Ireland. These identifications are not final; but later learned papers on the earliest lives of St. Patrick, Dates of Texts in the Book of Armagh, the origin and the contents of the Tripartite Life, possess lasting value. He wrote on "The Historical St. Patrick" in the *Fifteenth Centenary Memorial Book* which Fr. Paul Walsh edited in 1932; and he composed a biographical sketch, based on the *Confession*, under the title *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, chiefly for popular use, in 1934. For the national saint and his work he had the most profound admiration.

As a professor Mac Neill's chief gift, perhaps, was his capacity to inspire enthusiasm in his students. Many of them who afterwards travelled far and sat at the feet of celebrated teachers in famed Continental Universities and schools, were surprised to find how few of these Professors seemed to equal Mac Neill in intellectual calibre. He loved the great open spaces rather than the little fenced-in fields and the alley-ways of history. Thus his lectures dealt with select questions—points that occupied his attention at the moment—rather than with fixed courses. His mind was of that philosophic cast which was more interested in causes than in effects, in institutions than in events. He did not despise the *Zettelkatalog*, but he rarely used it; and so his work was refreshingly original, for he took from others nothing save the occasional discovery of exceptional value that was worth keeping in his head. That disease of modern pedantry, the unnecessary and the interminable note, he never contracted. It is true that his references were often meagre and that

portant conclusions were based on premisses that show no exhaustive dy of sources, but it does not follow that these conclusions are wrong. other words, there is an intuitive grasp of a subject that makes the w, plodding, step-by-step approach to it needless. Remarkable, too, ; what one may call the timeless element in his character. One felt t he would be quite at home with Sophocles or with Julius Caesar, or h St. Augustine, or with Charlemagne, or with St. Francis, or with smus or with Bossuet, not to speak of Irishmen of all generations—nor Mac Nessa, Niall of the Nine Hostages, St. Colmcille, Johannes ugena, Brian Boru, Silken Thomas, Dermot O'Hurley, Owen Roe, bert Emmet. He seemed to understand the mentality of a past age as : were his own. To illustrate this faculty we may mention an excursion ich he led as President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries to the site r Baltinglass of the famous battle of Dún Bolg, fought in 598 between King of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire, and the King of Leinster, ndub. An ancient, very detailed account of this battle survives. Mac ill gathered the company round him at Dún Bolg, gave word for word old official communique, identified the places mentioned, showed that High-King, unless he were coming direct from a lunatic asylum, could loy his army in the manner alleged, reconstructed the movements t led to the encounter and explained why the King of Leinster, with erior forces, was able to defeat and slay his powerful adversary. The ount was as vivid as if he had been present there himself in 598, ching the tactics of the rival commanders with his own eyes. To hear n that day was an unforgettable experience ; invention was swept aside l falsehood withered, while history poured forth, true and living, from clear mind of the great master.

On the human side John Mac Neill was one of the simplest, humblest, st generous and most kind of men. He had a fine sense of humour, ich could be salted with a touch of dry northern wit, as when he said an Imperial Conference in London of a dull and prosy representative a Dominion whose prosperity depended largely on its sheep : " So-l-So seems to have brought his country's annual wool-export in his d ! " By his students he was held in reverence. They were delighted en he took up the cudgels against some professional " enemy "—Sir nry Maine ; G. H. Orpen, with whose views on the Normans he lently disagreed ; Christopher Dawson, against whom he would argue advantages of rural over urban civilization. In these academic tourneys re would be energy, intelligence, esprit, but no venom. Of those who ught well to set aside his authority in 1916 ; of those who condemned ultingly this or that among his public actions ; of those who whispered ting little criticisms of his scholastic defects—of none was he ever rd to say a hard word. Their faults were mere specks that looked ignificant to eyes illumined by divine charity.

And this brings us to the crowning virtue of his character, a love of God that informed and vitalized his love of his fellow-men. This is a sanctuary beyond whose threshold it would be impertinent to penetrate. It is enough to state that John Mac Neill, throughout all his life, was a sincere and devout Catholic. The Church and her interests stood very near—nearer even than his country—to his heart. Week by week, in the pages of the Catholic press, he studied events as they affected her prospects —cheered when the news was good, sad when the news was otherwise. On a Sunday he would insist on going to his parish church for Mass, even though another church was nearer. He loved his country's Catholic past and thought it a privilege to travel, in the footsteps of so many generations, to St. Patrick's Purgatory at Loch Derg, there to fast and pray and do penance in the spirit of the Celtic saints. But perhaps the happiest moments of his life were those which he spent at Rome in 1938. His eyes would sparkle as he spoke of a lifetime's longing to journey as a humble pilgrim *ad limina Apostolorum*, and of the impossibility of fulfilling his desire because of the expense involved. Matters were arranged at last in the year mentioned—so well indeed that Mrs. Mac Neill was enabled to go with him, to multiply the pleasures of the trip by her gracious company. When Pius XI met John Mac Neill, the venerable comarb of Peter knew that he was greeting one of Peter's most noble sons. Between the two were ties which added to the indissoluble bond that derived from Calvary. Both were scholars, both were old, both were men of peace, lovers of all mankind, and both had won for themselves, each in his own sphere, that true fame which is " consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de excellenti virtute."

JOHN RYAN

ATOMIC POWER: PAST AND FUTURE

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T is a saddening thought that one of the greatest discoveries of man should first become generally known by news of its use in an engine terrible destruction. We marvel at the vastness of the new power, but e are horrified at the first fruits—tens of thousands of human beings ared off the face of the earth without time to breathe a prayer. The ry efficiency of the conjunction between science and ruthless military rpose at Hiroshima and Nagasaki makes us face up quickly and squarely the issues involved. We are presented with an opportunity and a allenge. Atomic power is a revolution in human resources, and men ust use it wisely. It is already clear that, as a result of its application the atomic bomb, the nations must find an alternative to war or else r civilisation will come to an end.

Every one has a responsibility in the matter. Even the humblest of can contribute to forming a vigorous public opinion which will constrain atesmen to follow principles of justice in their dealings. By insisting the ideal of Christ the King we may help on the emergence of the hilosopher-king. We shall be strengthened in our desire to give primacy morality, and we shall feel more keenly our own particular duty of fecting as public representatives, not place-hunters or flatterers of our wer selves but men of the spirit, by considering the nature of the new rce which has been " long mercifully withheld from man," a force which emendously extends military and political power and raises moral uestions of the first order. Governments are impersonal and they come d go. In the end responsibility lies with the individual. Hence it efits him to know the potentialities of atomic energy, even if he under-ands but a little of how it is released.

I

It is many years since people started talking about splitting the atom d since Dublin academic wits with customary good humour, half in st and half in earnest, began to refer to small but energetic colleagues " mighty atoms ". The story of the attempts to break up the infini-simal brick out of which scientists consider the universe to be constructed a long one. It includes the names of hundreds of experimenters before culminates in the discovery of a method of setting free the force which ns the sun and other stars. Progress was won in the course of a few cades and was due to international co-operation. The world community scientists worked as a team, and it is not easy to separate the parts

played by individuals who belong to every country in the world. An important contribution was made by our countryman, Dr. E. T. S. Walton. Other contributors of note who have Irish associations are Sir George Thomson, Sir Edward Appleton, and Prof. Patrick Blackett. In order to understand how the efforts of many such men of science led to recognition of nuclear fission, on which the large scale release of atomic energy depends, it is necessary to say a word about the structure of matter.

In place of the four elements of the ancients, modern chemists recognise ninety-two elements in nature. An element is a material so simple that it cannot be reduced to any other material by chemical analysis. The smallest piece of an element, as revealed by the methods of chemistry, is called an atom. It is to the chemist what the brick is to the brick-layer. As the name implies, it is ordinarily indivisible, a unit in the strict sense. Corresponding to the ninety-two materials out of which the universe is composed, there are ninety-two kinds of atoms, ranging from the lightest, the hydrogen atom, whose weight is taken as standard or unity, to the heaviest, uranium, with a mass about 238 times that of the hydrogen unit.

As a result of more delicate methods than the chemist uses, the physicist has inferred that atoms are not solid, rather they are mostly empty space. Broadly speaking, an atom is a solar system in miniature, with nearly all its mass concentrated in a sun which is called the nucleus and with the rest of its mass distributed over its tiny planetary bodies. If we rid our minds for a moment of our usual standards of size and weight, we can readily visualize the structure of an atom, noting that atoms run a hundred million to the inch. In a cosmic laundry where shrinkage happens on the colossal scale and planets like our earth are reduced to wizened peas, tennis balls would shrivel up to atoms.

The nucleus of an atom is a complex body. It is very compact. It is matter in its most concentrated form. It is small in comparison with the atom. If the atom were enlarged to cathedral-size, the nucleus would be a mote dancing in a shaft of sunlight. On the other hand the density of this atomic sun is staggering. A hazel nut full of nuclear stuff would be heavy enough to sink all the ships in the world if spread over them.

Most of the energy of an atom is locked up in the nucleus. The amount associated with the planets of the atom is by contrast small, but it is readily exchanged with the outside world. Nuclear energy, on the other hand, stays put unless the nucleus happens to break up, a very unusual occurrence. A significant point to note is that the energy locked up in the nucleus is exceedingly large in comparison with the mass of the atom itself.

The first hint that energy does not stay forever congealed in the nucleus of an atom came through the discovery of radio-activity towards the end of last century. An ordinary atom of matter is very stable ; an atom of copper stays an atom of copper. There are, however, some elements

nade up of atoms which are not permanent but decay as they emit adiations. It was gradually realised that these radio-active atoms turn nto a different element and change their character simply because of isintegration of the nucleus. A fragment of the nucleus is shot out in ne form of a fast particle or a ray like an X ray, and the original element ; thereby transmuted. For centuries the possibility of turning one element nto another, particularly base metals into gold, had obsessed the mind f man. The aim was not always just profit, as is often unfairly said of ne alchemists ; for, on any theory of the unity of matter, transmutation s logically possible and, therefore, worthy of trial. Developments under 'ictorian scientists tended to discourage such notions. In the opinion f Kelvin's contemporaries, atoms are not only perfectly stable but nmutable. This view collapsed with the discovery of substances like adium. It was learned from the phenomena of radio-activity that ransmutation of the elements is a fact. The dream of the alchemists vas seen to be a reality. It had to be calmly owned, however, that natural ransmutation is a spontaneous affair, quite beyond human control and mited to a few uncommon materials, the heavy elements. A radio-ctive piece of matter is a natural X ray plant which man cannot control. Ie has not the power to switch it on or off. The changes which take lace in radio-active elements, while they are not those sought by the eekers of the philosophers' stone, are nevertheless striking. For instance, n ultimate product of the disintegration and decay of uranium is lead.

In radio-activity we have a natural break-up of atomic nuclei. Twenty-ix years ago the great physicist, Rutherford, succeeded in bringing about rtificial or deliberate disintegration. He inaugurated, so to say, the ame of sub-atomic marbles, when he initiated a new kind of chemistry, uclear chemistry. In this game the nucleus of a light atom, hydrogen r helium, is fired at the nucleus of another atom in an attempt o smash it. It is not easy to score a bull's eye, as it is akin to making hit by firing a mote from a cathedral at a speck of dust in another athedral. The nucleus fired is called the projectile, and the other nucleus ; called the target. Ways of obtaining high-speed projectiles were studied nd developed, and they led to a great variety of bombardment experiments.)utstanding among them was the pioneer work of Walton and his associate ockcroft, done in Rutherford's laboratory in 1932.[1] Bombardment xperiments which were carried out with both natural and man-devised tomic guns led to fascinating results. Elements were changed one into nother and nuclear energy was set free—on a small and very costly scale. esides transmuting old elements by smash-and-grab methods, scientists eached high adventure in creating two elements unknown in nature.

[1] See J. D. Cockcroft and E. T. S. Walton : *Proceedings of the Royal Society, A136*, 19, 1932 ; and *137*, 229, 1932. These two scientists made the first 'atom-smasher' machine for producing high-speed subatomic particles. Rutherford's projectiles were ot from the natural processes of radio-activity.

These new elements are manufactured by a subtle action of one kind of uranium on another. They are called trans-uranium elements because they are higher than uranium both in weight and in the chemist's table of prime materials. Neptune and Pluto being the planets beyond Uranus in the solar system, the new elements are named neptunium and plutonium.

The principle underlying methods of artificial disintegration is invariably a bombardment of the atomic nuclei with high-speed projectiles. As the nucleus is a very small target, the process is very inefficient; in some unfavourable cases there is only one hit for every thousand million subatomic shells fired. Hence the difficulty of achieving transmutation on a large scale. In favourable cases a hit may be registered once in every million shots. It is not to be wondered at that the quantities transmuted were too small to be seen and had to be detected by special means.

It is characteristic of both natural and deliberate transmutation that the nucleus is chipped rather than broken, and accordingly the amounts of energy set free are small. There is no question of large scale release of atomic power, and we are very far off realising the atomic bomb.

A great advance was made in 1932. In that year the neutron was discovered. This particle of subatomic size is electrically neutral, and so can penetrate with ease into the positively-charged nucleus of an atom and then produce an explosion. There are two kinds of neutrons, fast and slow. A curious feature is that neutrons, unlike other projectiles, are more effective in smashing atomic kernels when their speed is low. The discovery of the neutron put up enormously the efficiency of atomic artillery, and it ultimately made possible the atomic bomb.

The activity of the bomb depends on the special form of atomic disintegration known as nuclear fission. Fission occurs when uranium is bombarded with neutrons. In this case it is more than a chip that is knocked off the nucleus; the core of the uranium atom is split into two more or less equal parts which fly asunder with prodigious speed. What happens in fission is therefore something never before detected, the division of a massive nucleus into two nearly equal fragments. The term fission is borrowed from biology where it denotes the division of a cell into two cells of roughly the same size.

In nuclear fission the release of energy is amazing. To give an idea of it, let me recall that the union of hydrogen and oxygen to form water, perhaps the most violent explosion of all chemistry, liberates less than three units for the smallest quantity of water that can be formed; and in the notorious explosives of industry and war, such as T.N.T. (trinitrotoluene) and dynamite, not even so much energy as that is unleashed for the same weight of material used. In nuclear fission when a single nucleus of uranium breaks in pieces, there is set free, in the form of energy of motion of the new-born particles, the appalling amount of one hundred and seventy five million units. To appreciate this, we must

ultivate the stupendous and colossal for a moment. We have to do iolence to our imaginations and think of things which are of a different rder of size to any we already know. It is like a motorist finding a new ind of petrol which will give him forty million miles to the glass, or ke a man with a wage of four pounds a week suddenly being paid five undred pounds every second of his existence.

It is natural to ask what is the true source of this prodigious energy. t cannot be the projectiles ; the lucky one that scores a hit has only a raction of the energy liberated by the collision. The secret—and this s the basic principle of the atom bomb—is that fission provides energy y reason of a loss of mass taking place. Matter in its crude palpable orm goes right out of existence and is replaced by motion. In fission ve have a violation of the old law of conservation of mass, one of the ornerstones of the structure of science since its enunciation in the ighteenth century. Bang has gone another dogma of science, to be ubsumed under a more general law of conservation of energy, in which he meaning of energy is enlarged. Matter is now seen to be frozen or nert energy. In nuclear fission, matter thaws and becomes living energy. We are reminded of the term " living force " (*vis viva*) of our forerunners, nd we see a new significance in it. When, as in nuclear fission, matter s converted into energy, the rate of exchange is such that a very tiny mount of matter becomes a prodigious amount of energy.[1]

The amount of energy set free in the fission of a single uranium atom s great relative to the mass of matter involved, but fissions are rare events nd we require a vast multitude of them to arrive at atomic power on the worth-while scale. We seem as far off as ever from the atom bomb. But a second discovery in conjunction with the first solved the problem. This is the most sensational item of all. Not only is fission caused by neutrons, but there are fresh neutrons produced by the fission, and there s thus the possibility of realising an action which can propagate itself. Our common sources of power are chemical reactions, such as the combustion of coal or oil. Breathing leads to combustion, the burning of oxygen in our lungs to supply energy to our bodies. Combustion is always self-propagating : thus the lighting of a fire with a match liberates sufficient heat to ignite the nearest fuel, which liberates more heat which ignites more fuel, and so on. Combustion, like a prayer-chain, can advance

[1] This explains why the connection between mass and energy was not discovered in the well-known experiments of Landolt carried out in the period 1890 to 1909. In 1905 Einstein arrived at a formula for the rate of exchange. He concluded that the amount of energy, E, equivalent to a mass, m, is given by the equation

$$E = mc^2$$

where c is the velocity of light. When this equation is stated in actual numbers, its startling character becomes apparent. It shows that one ounce of matter, if converted entirely into energy, would give nearly a billion units (kilowatt hours). This is rather more than the total electrical energy consumed in Eire in the year 1944.

The first satisfactory experimental proof of the equivalence of mass and energy was obtained from the work of Cockcroft and Walton in 1932.

by geometrical progression. As a rule this is not true of nuclear actions. They are not self-perpetuating or self-sustaining; neither the energy released nor the new particles formed are sufficient to maintain the process. Generally, the cores of atoms are like sods of wet turf which need to be dried before they can take fire. In nuclear fission there are emitted particles of the same sort as those which started it. If these neutrons are emitted in sufficient numbers to propagate the action in neighbouring nuclei, nuclear fissions can be used to dry out the wet sods, so to speak, and the atom bomb is possible.

Experiment revealed that enough neutrons are emitted in fission to make possible a self-perpetuating action. The fresh neutrons are, however, too fast. They have to be slowed down to be effective. If they then encounter uranium atoms in bulk and fission after fission occurs rapidly, the whole block will explode with unparalleled fury. It is pertinent to ask: why has the great explosion never been observed? One reason is that the fresh neutrons move at the wrong speed. Also, some escape to the air and are wasted. Again, natural uranium is impure; it is always mixed with other elements, and neutrons are captured by the foreign nuclei and made ineffective.

The principles of an atomic bomb are now clear. Pure uranium is required. It is needed in bulk. Material to moderate the speed of the fast neutrons must be used with the uranium. The size of the resulting block or pile must be right. If it is too small, too many neutrons will escape into the air and a self-propagating action is not possible. If the pile exceeds a certain critical size, it will be unstable; the entry of a single neutron, by cosmic ray action or the spontaneous decay of uranium, will set it off. Quantities less than the critical size will be safe. The bomb can be detonated by bringing together blocks each less than the critical size but exceeding it when in contact. Finally the reaction must develop at high speed and give results in a considerable portion of the block before it flies asunder.

We have now sketched the scientific background to the atomic bomb. We must say a word about the historical side and the key experiments. Researches on the neutron bombardment of uranium were initiated by Fermi and his co-workers at Rome in 1934. The results were puzzling and were not properly analysed until several years later. The correct interpretation came through an important discovery of Hahn[1] and his Berlin associates which was published in January 1939; it forced the recognition of nuclear fission on an initially sceptical world. Soon afterwards, in the spring of the same year, it was demonstrated that in fission free neutrons are also produced. There was immediate interest in the possibility of turning to military use the vast quantity of energy unleashed by a light trigger action. Such a possibility was freely discussed

[1] Recently awarded a Nobel prize.

1940 until a complete censorship was imposed on publications relating the subject. In an address delivered to the Pontifical Academy of iences on February 21, 1943, the Pope showed concern as he forecast coming of the bomb. The Holy Father said :—

> Transmutation of elements has for many years been of interest only to scientists. doubtedly, the amount of the energy obtained was a matter for wonder, but ce atoms are so small, it was not seriously thought that they might become of ictical importance.
>
> To-day the question has taken an unexpected turn following the results of ificial radio-activity. The disintegration which an atom of uranium undergoes en it is bombarded and the nucleus is broken up, sets free a quantity of energy enormous and scarcely imaginable proportions. From a small piece of uranium re is released enough energy to take the place for several years of all the great wer plants in the world.
>
> It is of the utmost importance that the energy liberated in such a process should t be let loose to explode, but that a way shall be found to control it. Otherwise re would result a terrible catastrophe.

The veil which hid developments after the year 1940 has now been rtly lifted by British and American official publications. The first cument gives a thin account of the British contribution towards the alisation of the atomic bomb.[1] The American publication[2] is a more nerous document ; it gives a substantial account of the development methods of using atomic energy for military purposes, but for obvious asons the story is not told in full. Perusal of this volume makes it evident at, besides a most intensive research effort, there was required an immense gineering enterprize which needed all the powers of modern industrial sources. The magnitude of the necessary industrial effort having been monstrated, Allied fear of German success weakened even before the d of the war. By the same token it was certain that the Japanese could t develop and use the weapon effectively. There is a lesson here for tions that are industrially weak.

II

Every engineer knows that a long road lies between a scientific principle d its practical application, between, say, the principle of the lever and s use in the building of a bridge. There is the question of materials, eir strength, their procurement ; there are subsidiary principles such the principle of the cantilever. There are other considerations. ikewise there is a wide gap between laboratory experiments with minute uantities of matter—so minute as to require special apparatus to detect em—and a bomb constructed out of several pounds of radio-active

[1] *Statements relating to the Atomic Bomb.* London : H. M. Stationery Office, 1945, pp., 4d.

[2] *Atomic Energy.* Printed London, 1945, IV + 144 pp., 2s. 6d. The report is of technical nature. Practically nothing is said about fast neutrons on which the success the bomb must depend.

substances. It is pertinent to recall that radium, the most characteristic of the radio-elements, is derived from pitch-blende, a black velvety mineral, and that many tons of the mineral yield, after long and tedious work, less than a pinhead of radium compound. Extraction of the pure element is therefore a matter of great labour and high cost, and it is not surprising that radium is worth many thousand times its weight in gold, and that the total amount isolated before the war did not exceed a few ounces.

The use of nuclear fission for devastating explosions calls for elaborate preparations, and it involves making a profound change in the fine structure of the stuff taken from the earth. Two kinds of materials are required for making atomic bombs, a fission material and a material to slow down neutrons. The new substance, plutonium, was used as the fission material in the bomb dropped on Nagasaki, but we shall confine our attention to the fission material of the first bomb, uranium. Uranium, an ancestor of radium, is likewise obtained from pitch-blende, deposits of which were known to exist in Colorado, in Canada, in Joachimstal in Czechoslovakia, and in the Belgian Congo, with smaller or unexplored mines elsewhere. Minute quantities exist in Wicklow granite. Uranium is a hard but malleable metal, resembling nickel or iron in its lustre and colour. When the chemist has purified uranium to the very best of his powers, the physicist finds that one atom in every 140 is different from its fellows, and he finds too that this kind of atom is the one sensitive to slow neutrons. Sensitive uranium has then to be separated out from the uranium delivered by the chemist. This is a tedious expensive job when done on the scale necessary for bombs. An enormous plant has to be erected, with thousands of separation stages one after the other, occupying thousands of acres. Few cities in Ireland cover as much ground as this separation plant.

Material for slowing down the neutrons should contain hydrogen or carbon. Graphite or pencil "lead," paraffin wax and heavy water are found suitable. A word of explanation is perhaps needed about heavy water. Among every five thousand atoms of ordinary hydrogen there is found one giant who is twice as massive as any of the others, but he cannot be separated from them by chemical means—he has exactly the same chemical properties as they have. By costly laborious ways he and many like him are isolated and in sufficient bulk they constitute heavy hydrogen. Heavy water is water rich in heavy hydrogen. It is obtained by passing an electric current through ordinary water. On account of the cheap supply of hydro-electricity which is available, Norway is the chief source of heavy water in Europe. One recalls that there were daring raids on stocks of heavy water in that country during the course of the war, and it now is clear what was the reason for such raids.

When large amounts of material have been got together preparatory to making an atom bomb, troubles begin in earnest. Uranium metal is poisonous and work with it is dangerous. It is easy enough to take

ecautions against this hazard. More insidious are radio-active effects. ıe amounts of radio-active material handled in preliminary work on the mb were many times greater than had ever been encountered before. has been known for a long time that radiations from these elements ıy be injurious. They give off very penetrating rays, some of which e like X rays in their physiological effects. Intense neutron radiation nstituted another hazard to health. Then it was discovered that the oducts of fission build up and give rise to a most vicious form of poison s. A new horror was found—radio-active poison. Great heat is nerated from radio-active material in bulk. This gives rise to fresh oblems which include providing an effective cooling system. The oblem is much more complicated than keeping a petrol engine cool, ıce chemical and radiological effects are mixed with thermal effects d have to be allowed for. In the cooling of a single pile a water supply large as that of a city had to be employed. With water came corrosion, rrosion of the uranium metal, one of the most troublesome features perienced and a constant nightmare to the workers. The experience the pioneers was, in short, that of every research worker—namely at one spends by far the greater part of one's time discovering and ying to remove snag after snag before one can get to grips with the ime problem. After research on the effects of radiations and other azards on persons and instruments, shielding and safety measures were cluded in the design and plan of operation of the production plant. hick walls of concrete and steel protected the workers against the intense diation from the pile. The pile of uranium incorporated means for ntrolling neutrons. It was a trial unit required for experiment and to nd out if the atomic bomb was practicable. It had to be housed in an ıormous building to accommodate shields, accessories and controls.

Special laboratories were built in Canada, in the United States, and n islands in the Pacific to enable problems in pure science and technology earing on the bomb to be solved. In the laboratory erected at Los lamos there were seven great departments : the theoretical physics ivision, the experimental nuclear physics division, the chemistry and ietallurgy division, the advanced development division, and the ordnance, xplosives, bomb physics divisions. None of the work of the last three epartments has been published and only a selection from the work of ıe other divisions has been allowed to appear. Provision had to be made or training a large staff in a new kind of work.

The men of science had first to convince the military authorities that fission bomb was practicable. They did so by constructing a uranium ile that could go of itself and work slowly and under perfect control s a quiet power unit, in a manner analogous to slow combustion. Later n prodigious power units, developing a million horse-power,[1] were

[1] That is ten times the capacity of the generating station at Ardnacrusha.

constructed. This phase makes it evident that atomic power, unlike the unbiddable high explosives which have to be destroyed as unusable at the end of a war, can serve purposes of peace. There are no scientific or technical barriers to the use of atomic power for industry; objections are mainly economic.

The military and other authorities having been convinced that atomic power is tractable, mammoth factories were planned and built to produce the fissionable materials needed in fission bombs. I shall not dwell on the industrial effort that this involved. I point out that the American official report gives very meagre information about actual design and production of bombs, and concentrates on the peace uses rather than on the military applications of nuclear fission. It is stated that almost all the technical difficulties came from the extraordinarily short time interval between the start and the finish of the nuclear self-propagating action. A reference is made to the manner of assembling the bomb material so as to avoid the danger of premature ignition. Very rapid assembly is achieved by shooting one part of the bomb as a projectile in a gun against a second part as target. The gun has novel features, which are kept secret.

A power unit using atomic energy was got to work on 2 December 1942. This is the first time known in the history of man that a system kept going on nuclear fission. The unit consisted in a pile of uranium and other material weighing five tons, which had been built by Fermi and his collaborators. Fermi was the man of faith and vision, the driving spirit who convinced sceptical technicians that the atom bomb was possible. He had left Italy in 1940 for political reasons. To explain great things by small, his success in the winter of 1942 was akin to the triumph of one who has succeeded in getting wet turf to light up and burn slowly with very little heat from it. There was still a long way to go to achieve an objective like packing a coal mine into the bowl of a tobacco pipe and then get it all to flare up in one single instant, one moment of riotous power.

The bomb became a reality two and a half years later. The first test was made on July 16, 1945, in a remote section of Alamogordo air base, 120 miles from Albuquerque, New Mexico. The bomb was fired at 5.30 a.m. The steel tower which had supported it was turned into vapour, and a massive cloud was sent billowing into the stratosphere with tremendous force. A blinding flash lit up the country side brighter than the brightest daylight and made a mountain range three miles away stand out in bold relief. There was a thundering sustained roar, and a heavy pressure wave came and knocked down men who were six miles from the place of the explosion. The atom bomb was an accomplished fact.

It was estimated that the bomb caused a local temperature a thousand times higher than the temperature of the surface of the sun. For an instant the air pressure was thousands of tons pulverising every square

. The military destructiveness of the bomb was revolutionary. Every-
g within a mile of the uranium explosion was vaporised. It is no
der that aviators a hundred miles from Hiroshima saw a light
ighter than the sun ". Half a mile off in every direction the blast
still five times the strength of the most violent hurricane winds. The
lb was designed to be detonated in combat at such a height above the
nd as to give the greatest possible blast effect against buildings and
isseminate the radio-active products as a cloud. It is stated that, on
unt of the height of the explosion, practically all the radio-active
ducts are carried upwards in the ascending column of hot air and
ersed harmlessly over a wide space. Even in the New Mexico test,
re the height of the explosion was necessarily low, only a small amount
adio-active substance was found afterwards immediately below the site
he bomb.

In the quest for the bomb there was an expenditure on men and
erials out of all proportion to what science can command in time of
ce. America alone spent the price of fifty battleships. It is obvious
few nations can afford atomic power at such prices. We must conclude
atomic power cannot have a practical interest for us in Eire for many
rs to come, unless and until our young scientists find a cheaper way
releasing it than through radio-elements in bulk. This search has
ady started and is making progress.

The story of the genesis of the bomb is a good example of science
rking for years painfully and with inadequate means and with no object
the advancement of knowledge ; then come war and the chance of
w weapons, and men and resources are provided regardless of cost.
r sharpens the interest in science of those who control the public
se, and every facility is given for a research which would get scant
port in time of peace.

III

The full implications of atomic power lie hidden in the womb of time,
it would be rash to try and foretell the nature of the offspring. Certain
ious statements can be made, and it is as well to make them, trite
they may sound. It is evident that the discovery of how to control
mic force is an epoch-making conquest of science. We are witnesses
a revolution as big with powers of good and evil as when the forces
steam and electricity were harnessed for the first time. While release
atomic energy means intensified destructiveness in war, the process
be turned against war in the long run, and there is promise of a great
ichment of living if it is used wisely. Slavish toil can be abolished
great leisure can be created for cultivating the higher ends of the
nd and spirit. Great things for more people become possible if atomic
ver is domesticated.

Immense responsibility is placed in the hands of those with exact knowledge of the steps necessary to set free the basic force of the universe. There can be no question of halting investigations until men are fitted to receive the results. Such a rule could not be enforced against an unscrupulous body which would take advantage of the trusting and honourable nature of the others. There is no salvation in trying to confine the present knowledge to a few. This will lead to another armaments race, to underground competition in devilish devices, erupting in a fresh cataclysm. In any case, since scientific principles are widely known only technical devices can be kept secret; a nation, rich in men and materials and will-power, can develop its own technique with time. The example of da Vinci and the submarine shows the uselessness of a policy of suppressing discoveries if all are not agreed upon it. Da Vinci abandoned his invention and nations other than the Italian brought it to perfection. Secrecy, too, is treason to the spirit of science. Men must carry the burden of their power, along with their weakness as sons of Adam. To assume atomic power will be for evil is a craven outlook.

There are military implications of general interest. The atomic bomb makes obsolete old defences which are sensitive to blast and heat. It is the best opinion that, in any future war, a single atomic bomb will be destructive enough to erase from the face of the earth a city as large as London. The day of the over-ground city is done. Talk of a ray as a counter to the bomb is like talk of death-rays, or rays that stop motor cars and planes, or radio-waves that explode chemicals from afar off; such rays are food for the imagination and for fiction. The atom bomb, like other developments in recent years, relegates small armies to the standing of comic opera, or leaves them status as tokens or ornaments or aids to the police force. It seems waste for a small nation to spend much on its army unless for non-military reasons.

We must not lose all sense of proportion about the destructiveness of atomic force. We can dismiss as fanciful the fears of certain literary gentlemen that atomic energy will be developed to the point of blowing this planet of ours to pieces or right out of the solar system, making our mother earth explode like one of the variable stars or supernovae which from time to time flare up suddenly and terrifyingly in the heavens. New ways of releasing atomic force will undoubtedly be found, and processes will be improved and cheapened, but there is a known limit to what is attainable, and we are within measurable distance of it. It may serve to maintain our sense of proportion to recall the greatest explosive outburst of historic time, the eruption on August 27, 1883, of the volcanic island Krakatoa, off Java. In that cataclysm a cubic mile of pulverised rock was shot in a few moments to a height of thirty four miles above the earth. The resulting roar was heard three thousand miles away. By comparison, the terrible new bomb is as a child's rattle.

There are no prospects of immediate application of atomic power to e scale peace uses. As a small nation poor in resources, we in Eire have to wait for technical developments before this source of power become available to us and make all the mines in Britain insignificant comparison. Eventually atomic power will be developed to drive hinery, perhaps as a new kind of steam engine, and provide sources material power that will render water-power and sunlight relatively ligible. There will be revolutions in industrial life and in world nomics. A new vista already opens up for scientific work and for licine. A standby is in sight for the day when the world's natural rves of coal and oil give out.

The most important implications of atomic power are those on the ral plane. It is well to keep them in the forefront of our minds. There ittle danger at the moment of under-rating the importance of the new ver ; but there is a real danger that we shall get interested in a hundred er matters and presently lose our vivid sense of the menace it may ome to civilisation. The new Promethean fire may be salutary for world if its ominous possibilities keep us mindful of man's true nature l high destiny.

The atmosphere is scarcely calm enough for an objective discussion ethics. The nations are too fresh from their bitter struggle to consider hout passion and recrimination the morality of the indiscriminate apon, whether atom bomb or flying bomb, or the question of what is nilitary target, or the morality of total war. But opinion is growing d is being freely expressed that the doctrine of force and expediency ust be reconsidered. Public pronouncements and letters to the news- pers reveal that the conscience of the world has been stirred as never fore.[1] Fear, dread, horror, despair, terror, a sense of shame and moral wilderment and great uneasiness are some of the chief feelings of nsitive men. The doctrine of progress has received a jolt. A shake s been given to the smug ideas of planners, production experts, scientific nagers and administrators : they are not so sure as they were that the ustrated Ariel in every Caliban is merely a victim of his physical nditions. Philosopher and theologian have been shocked, and they th wonder if man is master of his own destiny more than they had pposed. Politicians have been shaken, and they ask : what will happen atomic power falls into the hands of some enemy of civilisation, an nbitious and unscrupulous enemy ; will the whole world be enslaved an evil philosophy or be atom-bombed out of existence ?

Many besides those to whom God's presence is most vivid have asked the nations sinned in atom-bombing Japan, knowing its defeat to be matter of time : did the nations thus succumb to what they had taken

[1] See *The Times* from August 8 onwards. Mgr. R. A. Knox analyses some of the eral reactions in *God and the Atom*. (Sheed and Ward).

up arms against? Uneasy justification for atom-bombing cities was sought in a quick-end-to-the-war argument, based on the unsound principle that the end justifies the means. It was commonly felt that an opportunity had been missed—an opportunity of showing mercy, say, by dropping the first atomic bomb on a barren hillside. Fear grows that the gates of mercy are now being shut on mankind. The atom bomb strikes the public imagination and deepens its sense of doom: it is a foretaste of the weapons with which the next war will be fought. Thoughtful people in Allied countries display a sense of insecurity which seems out of keeping with the victorious end of the war. In all there are many signs that the conscience of the human race is deeply troubled over the use that has been made of atomic power in the atom bomb.

There is a tendency to blame the scientist. This is like blaming the grocer for a scarcity of tea or sugar in war-time. Scientists, as scientists, are not responsible for the use to which atomic power is put. Atomic energy in itself is neither good nor bad. The atomic bomb is a direct offshoot of one of the purest forms of the quest for knowledge, the inquiry into the basic structure of matter. In itself the atomic bomb is no more wrong than a bullet: the difference between them is that there are plenty of legitimate targets for bullets, but there are very few lawful targets for atom bombs in this small world of ours. Scientists, like other classes of citizens, do their part as patriots or soldiers: they defend their country or cause in the way they know best. It is not the choice of the men of science that their part should be so much of the whole or that, with the closing stages of the war, scientific discovery and invention should emerge as the essential combatants. Science is an unwilling conscript, and scientists are attempting to shake free and devise means of saving themselves and the world. They know they must cease to follow " where the argument leads ". But they feel that it is a thankless task to try to limit the methods of warfare and to continue to tolerate war itself. Nothing, they say, will prevent the use of the atomic bomb in the next war except the knowledge that retaliation will certainly follow: that is the chief reason why gas was not used in the late war. It is clear that neither reasons of this kind nor the establishment of international security councils of politicians and scientists will allay the uneasiness of mankind or cure the sickness from which the world is suffering. Something outside science and politics must be invoked.

Perhaps fear of the terrible destructiveness of the bomb will prevent war—fear of the depletion of humanity that will follow another world war? It is unlikely that fear will deter people from going to war ever again, and this is to man's credit. The atomic bomb is a new weapon and seems barbaric on that account, but men get used to a new model even of a weapon of destruction and, when their minds have been conditioned, they look forward to something more terrifying and more

cient. Reason is little better than fear as a deterrent. The atom bomb kes plain the folly of war to most minds. Reason tells us that war ecoming with certainty suicidal for nations ; but when national passions aroused, or an ideology or a crusade preached, reason is forgotten d a nation willingly moves forward to immolation. If the curse of r is to be laid, it must be by the positive love of peace ; the new rifying power drawn from the atom will merely give a livelier sense the weight of the responsibility of choosing peace or war. World order ll not spring from fear, and world government based on mere political sdom and reasons of self-preservation is a utopian idea.

For peace there must be first of all control of the gangster element humanity which, in the words of the shrewd observer, Horace Walpole, always studies to apply the results of talents to enslaving, destroying cheating " its fellows. There must also be an outlet for the noble pulses which war serves. There is an element in warfare which appeals the best in man. The young find in an ideological war an opportunity crusade and realise noble urges. Youth cannot be satisfied with old ves' tales of the horrible past, but must learn the hard and toughening ay. The very dangers it is warned against intensify the call and urge to forth and fight against great odds for a great end. War, in spite its stark horror and its increasing power through applied science to flict destruction, calls forth heroic self-devotion, fortitude and urage, and a singleness of purpose which unites a people like nothing se. Courage overflows from strong to fainter spirits, and spreads and hts a fire which neither fear nor reason can quench. There is required r these hearts a moral equivalent of war, as the American philosopher illiam James pointed out three decades ago. One has heard of the ergy equivalent of mass and the mechanical equivalent of heat. More portant for men than either of these is a moral substitute for war.

The gangster element is in all of us in some degree, and the spirit brave adventure is there also. Both elements can be disciplined in ie way only, by religion. Only religion can bring the gangster element nder control. Nothing short of religion can be the moral equivalent of ar. James's alternatives, the acceptance of voluntary poverty or a holesale conscription of youth to take its part in the conflict with nature, e utopias easy to imagine but difficult to create without the operation the mighty spiritual influences which Christianity alone affords.

Pascal stands out among all who have understood both science and ligion, the chief facets of diamond truth. He discerned three orders experience : the spiritual, the intellectual and the material. Everything at is of real value, he said, belongs to the first, and achievements on ie other two planes are of passing interest. Gains along the last two vels are mortally injurious to man when they interfere with progress on ie spiritual level. Atomic power is a tremendous advance in the

intellectual and material orders, but it suggests ominous possibilities. If the universe is more than physical, if it is moral and spiritual, with signs perceived only " by the heart," man lighted by the draughty candle of his intellect may be about to dash himself to pieces against the substance of things. The Christian knows that that is just what is happening.

The war has let two great world powers emerge from its cauldron, and there are not wanting signs of an armaments race starting between them, with the atom bomb as the chief weapon. Russia, mainly illiterate in 1918, has achieved in a single generation a technical efficiency which is astonishing in itself and is of the utmost consequence to the rest of the world. The important question is: are her highly competent mass-produced experts better than superficial literates, has she sufficient spiritual resources to make her as wise as she is powerful? It is foolish to think that the " secret " of the atomic bomb can be kept from Russia. There is no security to be got along those lines. Peace must be bought with other coin.

The popes have constantly advocated a decrease in armaments as a means of preserving peace. The present Holy Father declared in his Five Point Peace Plan that " any peaceful settlement which fails to give fundamental importance to a mutually agreed, organic, and progressive disarmament . . . will sooner or later show itself to be lacking in coherence and vitality." The atomic bomb gives new significance to these words of the pope and a new meaning to the words of One even greater than the pope: " All that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The new power can be dedicated to peace or war, and there is now set before the nations a choice. In a literal sense it is a choice of life or death.

P. J. MacLaughlin

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY MOST REV. DR. THOMAS POTHACAMURY

Bishop of Bangalore.

THE centenary of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, commemorated amid scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm and splendour in February t, has focussed attention once again on problems of Catholic university ucation in India. Since the affiliation of this renowned and historic ntre of learning to the University of Madras in 1866, 7,000 graduates cluding 900 Catholics) have gone to every part of the country and filled e various branches of the public services and the learned professions th dignity and distinction. The proudest boast of the college, however, that it counts among its former pupils an archbishop, seven bishops and o priests and religious.

Ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries honoured, by their presence and eir tributes, the celebration of this notable event in the history of Catholic ucation in India. His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, the Catholic overnor of Madras, spoke of the academic achievements of St. Joseph's llege and referred to it as an institution of national value and international putation. The Hindu Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University declared at missionary institutions would not only flourish but be welcomed in lf-governing India for their spirit of devotion to duty and service to manity, an enlightened conception of their duties and obligations and e practical example of the devoted servants of the Christian faith, the suit Fathers. His Excellency Most Rev. Leo. P. Kierkels, C.P., Delegate postolic of the East Indies, expressed warm appreciation of the educational deavours of the Jesuit Fathers of St. Joseph's College and enunciated e principles and ideals of an all-round Catholic education.

The centenary of St. Joseph's College has given an opportunity for ock-taking, for reviewing and assessing the value and significance of atholic Colleges and their contribution to the moral and intellectual rmation of the youth of the land, particularly Catholic youth.

The establishment of Catholic colleges in India followed the great ucational Despatch of the East India Company in 1854. In accordance th the policy of that Despatch, the Government of India mapped out comprehensive scheme of English education from the primary to the iversity stage. The first universities were established in Calcutta, mbay and Madras. They were not of the unitary or residential but the affiliating type, the actual work of teaching being carried on in the iliated colleges and the universities being essentially examining bodies. he Society of Jesus was the pioneer in the field of higher education in dia. This great teaching order established colleges in Calcutta, Trichin- oly and Bombay, throwing them open to students of all classes and creeds

without any distinction and adopting the courses of studies and methods of instruction required by the universities. The Society started gradually other university colleges in Mangalore in 1881, in Palamocottah, 1923, and in Madras, 1925. The Jesuit Fathers took over St. Joseph's College Bangalore, in 1937, from the Foreign Missionary Society of Paris. Colleges were established in Trichur in 1919 and in Changanacherry in 1923 by the Indian Bishops of the Syro-Malabar Rite, and the Syrian Carmelite Friars have been the latest, 1944, to enter into the field of higher education in Ernakulam. Four university colleges for women have also been established in South India—Mangalore, Trichinopoly, Ernakulam and Trichur. Thus in South India, which has a Catholic population of over 2,500,000, there are 12 university colleges, of which eight are for men—five of them being under the management of the Society of Jesus. All other parts of India have only six colleges, four for men (Calcutta, Bombay and the newly opened colleges of Ranchi and Jaipur)—all conducted by the Jesuit Fathers—and two for women, one in Bombay started in 1941 by the Sacred Heart Nuns of the English Province and the other in Patna conducted by the Indian Sisters of Apostolic Carmel, Mangalore.

With the solitary exception of the Syrian Carmelite College in Ernakulam, the great majority of the students, chiefly in men's colleges, are non-Christians. The training of a Catholic élite, the formation of worthy Christian citizens imbued with Christian thought and spirit, is obviously the main purpose of our colleges in India as elsewhere. But that object has not been realised to the degree and extent that were anticipated. In a country like India, where Catholics are few in number—only one per cent. of the total population and these often scattered over a wide area—the Church has to face many difficulties in regard to higher education. The number of Catholic pupils has been comparatively small in high schools and colleges. Our efforts to provide a distinctively Catholic education in a thoroughly Catholic atmosphere have been restricted not only by the preponderating number of non-Catholic pupils but also by the Government system and regulations. From the elementary school to the university college, we receive Government grants and our institutions are subject to Government inspection and control. Certain subjects have to be taught in a specified manner in a specified time. The ground covered in colleges is extensive; energies of staff and students are absorbed in the rigid course of the degree examination. The exacting syllabus and the pressure of the examination have tended to constrict the cultural value of education as also the searching religious spirit of the students it means to help towards truth. On the one hand, the full religious training and character formation of Catholic students has been impaired and on the other the spiritual influence exercised over non-Catholic youth has not been appreciable.

The state of affairs and recent pronouncements of Hindu leaders on conversion to Christianity and on the aims of Christian institutions caused

iety to the Hierarchy and to those charged with responsibility for the ner education of Catholic youth. Partly for financial reasons and partly stablish contact with the finest elements of the Hindu intelligentsia, ose fees often enabled Catholic managements to grant concessions to r Catholic students, our colleges have been indiscriminately thrown n to all creeds. The staff and students alike have been compelled to ere rigidly to the curriculum of studies and to the examination machine. e diminishing personal contact between staff and students, caused by vy growth in the strength of the students without a corresponding ease in staff, chiefly religious staff, weakened the effectiveness of the holic character and atmosphere of our colleges. The ten Metropolitans India, under the Presidency of His Excellency the Delegate Apostolic, in conference in September 1944 in Madras and discussed, among er outstanding problems, the subject of Catholic education. While ognising the extraordinary difficulties confronting the Church in India the implementing of the Catholic ideal of education, they uttered a mn warning against non-Catholic majorities being too readily admitted avoured at the expense of the Catholic education of Catholic children. ey also called attention to the "great danger to the religious formation our children in allowing too much to the claims of secular instruction, mination, sports and the like yielding immediate and visible results". ey further emphasised the fundamental principles of Catholic education its primary objective, and suggested ways and means for the recovery re-establishment of an apparently attenuating ideal.

Catholic and Protestant missionary agencies, though otherwise at ss purposes, evolved for nearly a century an identical policy in regard educational effort—namely, to multiply centres of higher education to admit non-Catholic pupils in large numbers. With the accumulated erience of several generations and bearing in mind their calling and s in missionary enterprise, they have been in substantial agreement this point. The Protestants, whose Missions commenced on a vast e only in the nineteenth century, were the first to attach value and portance to higher education as an evangelising agency. William ey, a Baptist, was the first to establish a Christian college in India. s he did in 1816, with a Danish Charter, at Serempore, near Calcutta. en in 1793 he applied to the East India Company for a passage to ia, the Directors refused to allow him on any of their boats and later ced in the report of one of their meetings the following minute : " The ding of the missionaries to the heathen nations of the East is the maddest, most expensive and the most unwarranted project ever proposed by atic enthusiasts." Carey mastered many languages of India, translated whole Bible into six major languages and edited 24 new Testaments—translations into Indian languages. The college he established, long ore the foundation of universities, is the only one in India with a

university status, empowered by Government to confer a theological degree. In 1830 Alexander Duff, a Scotch missioner, started the General Assembly College in Calcutta " to evangelise non-Christians and to train Indian mission agents ".

It was the firm conviction of early Protestant missioners and of English administrators that scientific training would enable the Hindu to think logically, realise the inconsistencies of his own religion and accept readily the Christian faith. Macaulay, who introduced the English system of education, wrote in 1836 : " No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion . . . . It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytise ; without the smallest interference with their religious liberty ; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection." Within the early sixties of the last century, there came to Madras another eminent Scotch educationist, Dr. William Miller, who declared that colleges would serve as " a strengthening, training, developing agency " for Christians and as a " preparatory agency " for non-Christians. The " praeparatio evangelica " was the main purpose of Protestant colleges, and in pursuance of that object they made Bible instruction compulsory for all students ; the training of the Christian community and individual conversions was only secondary.

In fact educational institutions, schools and colleges, boarding houses and orphanages, training and industrial schools were from the beginning among the principal means of proselytism among Protestants. Huge sums of money were spent on their establishment and maintenance. The number of workers engaged in the educational field was larger than that in direct evangelistic or pastoral work, the proportion being 1·3 to 1. In 1927 educational workers, Indian and foreign, were 21,298 as against 26,144 evangelical labourers. The rapid and astounding success of the Protestant Missions in certain parts of the country was mainly due to the remarkable facilities they offered for the educational advancement and vocational training of the poor and depressed classes. With little more than a century of their organised missionary endeavours, the number of Protestants of all denominations equals that of the Catholics, who are for the most part products of 200 to 400 years of missionary endeavours. From 1830 to 1855 the Protestants were unrivalled in the field of higher education. For several decades the professors in their colleges, who were generally ministers of religion, dominated the universities. They controlled the programme of studies and, by their renown and culture, attracted the rich and intelligent youth of the country. Many colleges were established all over the country, even in areas where there were no Christian communities. Some of the most distinguished leaders of the country

l representatives of the learned professions, such as advocates, doctors, gistrates, judges, principals and professors of colleges, were products these institutions. There were some striking conversions among their ɔils, which hastened the conversion of the lower classes.

There was a great measure of freedom for Christian colleges from 1858 1904, and Christian influence in education was at its zenith. The Acts 1904 tightened the control of Government over universities and reased the authority of the universities over the colleges. Further, ıditions in the country and the mental outlook of the educated Hindus ve undergone vast and radical changes during the last three or four cades. An organised movement sprang up to graft Christian truths ancient Hindu philosophy and religion and to cultivate Christian social ching and morals without breaking away from Hinduism. The ticipated change in the attitude of Hindus towards Christianity did t occur through the influence of western education, western religion d western government. Hinduism showed a marvellous capacity to just itself to new situations, which an aggressive Christianity had ɔduced. The light of the Gospel did not shine over India through the annel of higher education in the manner in which the missioners of last century hoped it would.

Thousands of eager, intelligent young men looked forward to English ucation for material advancement, but their spiritual home continued be the family circle and their own communal environment, both touched by Christian influences. Hindus began to arm themselves, der a strong impulse of nationalism, instead of being receptive of ıristianity. Either all religion began to die in the heart of the educated ndu, or systematic and organised efforts were made for the revival Hinduism.

In the face of a new India, modernised economically, socially and litically, the original plans of Christian educationists proved ineffective. ıe India of fakirs, sanyasis gave way to the India of material prosperity, dustrial development and scientific research. Hinduism became more werful than ever by contact with Christian influences and ideals. It ıs rejuvenated and acquired an initiative unknown in the past. Schools, lleges and charitable institutions have been established copying Christian ethods and ideals. The movement for social service and reform and manitarian missions arose—partly from a desire to emulate the work Christian Missions and partly by something of the spirit of Christ, d partly by an emotional attachment to what is Indian and in opposition what is foreign. Christian ideals have become the common property educated classes, chiefly those pertaining to service and love of neighbour. remarkable example of this awakening was furnished when on October 1944, a sum of over £750,000 was raised by public donations and esented to Mr. Gandhi for social welfare work among women and

children in villages in memory of his wife, Kasturba, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

Thousands of Hindus have studied and still study in missionary colleges, Catholic and Protestant, and the Indian people welcome the great contribution these colleges make to the cultural and moral welfare of the country. But Christian religious influence is strongly resented. The Protestant Missions realised long ago the significance of the change in Hindu mentality and outlook and the need for reorganizing their university colleges. At a meeting at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in July 1929, the Protestant International Missionary Council constituted a Commission to review the field of service open to Christian colleges in India and inquire in particular into the value of the college as a missionary method and the extent to which the mission colleges are contributing to the building and strengthening of the Church. The Commission, which was composed of two Americans, two Englishmen and two Indians, had as its Chairman Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and an American Secretary. The members set to work on November 4, 1930, visited 38 Protestant colleges, and concluded their task on April 4, 1931. Their findings were that, during the preceding decade, the total number of baptisms in all the 38 colleges were at the most a dozen. They further discovered that Christian colleges "actually contributed to strengthen Hinduism and Islam, and that they contributed simultaneously to weaken the power of Christianity to draw and win men, when these men are ardently patriotic and apt to be prejudiced."

At present, the Protestants conduct 34 university colleges in India. Of these, 13 are in South India with an enrolment of 4,911, of whom 1,884 are Christians, 5 in Bengal with 2,443 students, including 113 Christians, 6 in United Provinces with 3,452 students, 415 being Christians, and 5 in Punjab with 2,904 students, of whom only 154 are Christians, according to the statistics furnished by the National Christian Missionary Council, Nagpur, for the year 1944. Thus in South India, where the bulk of the Protestants are to be found, the proportion of Christian students is appreciable—being 38 per cent. of the total strength of the Protestant colleges—while in Bengal and Punjab it is not even 5 per cent. In 1931 Edwards College, Peshawar, had only two Christian students out of a total strength of 118 and Indore Christian College had 8 out of 364. Whereas Catholic colleges were generally established in centres of Catholic life and influence, Protestant colleges were established in all parts of the country, including wholly non-Christian territories, definitely with a view to spread the Gospel message. As in the case of Protestants, we have the greatest number of colleges in South India—12. There is not a single Catholic university college in the Punjab, United Provinces, Central Province and Bihar and Orissa. Most of the Protestant colleges were established in the 19th century, ours in the 20th.

The hope that education would be the main means of establishing ntact with Hindus of the higher classes was one of the chief reasons it led to the large admission of non-Christians into our colleges. But stern education and Christian civilisation and way of life failed to sorb educated India as smoothly as Roman life and manners transformed ul and Spain. Recent developments reveal that Hindus dislike the igious influences of Christian colleges and are starting their own stitutions modelled on Christian lines. Further, the universities are adily tightening their grip on affiliated colleges. The course of studies, e prescription of text-books and conditions of affiliation are such as to amp the Christian atmosphere of our colleges and thwart the dissemina- n of Christian ideals. Even at present there is a rule in the Madras niversity requiring that one of the text-books in the B.A. course should ar on Indian history and culture. Not infrequently do such books opagate Hindu ideas. We have as yet no centre of Catholic culture d learning, no power-house of Catholic thought and teaching to radiate atholic influence over every aspect of life and to give an intensive atholic formation to our youth and train earnest and capable Catholic aders. Without a university of our own it would be impossible, under pidly changing conditions in India, to form an élite to meet the urgent eds of the Church. Government have disclaimed all religious purpose the system of education initiated and controlled by them. Though om the secular point of view Government colleges are the most efficient, ere is no provision made for any religious instruction. In the opinion Mr. Arthur Mayhew, a former Director of Public Instruction in the nited Provinces, the spiritual purposes and characteristics of Missions ve been less marked in the higher educational institutions than in any her sphere of activity. In the public eye they are considered as offering e same attractions and having the same object as secular colleges. We ve no university of our own like that of Fordham, Notre Dame, Niagara Washington. Mr. Arthur Mayhew has the following significant passage his book *Christianity and the Government of India*: "So long as the aminations in India are controlled directly or indirectly by Government, ere will be an unreality in religious education even in mission schools. nly by such schools and colleges where education can come into its own ill the inadequacy and comparative failure of secular education, which already suspected, be made quite clear, and the real possibilities of lucation be expected."

Repeated and strong complaints of the danger of a purely secular stem of education have been made by prominent educationists. It was ssatisfaction with the existing state of things and the "growing desire the part of many to see religious instruction become once more an tegral part of the educational course," says Lord Ronaldshay, a former overnor of Bengal and now Marquis of Zetland, that led Hindus and

Muslims to establish denominational universities in Benares and Aligarh. The Hindu University of Benares and the Muslim University of Aligarh have avowedly religious aims. The main object of the Benares University is " to promote the study of Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising, for the benefit of Hindus in particular and of the world in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India." The Aligarh University has likewise made provision for the imparting of Muslim religious education and for the pursuit of Islamic studies. A growing volume of Catholic opinion in India favours the establishment of a university, which will not only be a machine for conducting examinations and conferring degrees, but a real corporation of learning, inspired with the aim of moulding and vitalising national life with the truth and principles of Christianity by its religious atmosphere, its instruction and organized research. Such a university will serve not only the ends of knowledge but also those of religion and morality.

There are 18 universities in India with an enrolment of 175,000 students in the various affiliated colleges sprawling all over the country, as against 1,600,000 students in the 1,750 universities, colleges and professional schools found in all manner of settings from the metropolis to the isolated rural community in the United States. The number of students passing from the high school to the university college in India is remarkably high compared with that in most advanced countries. One out of every three high school students goes to the college as against only one in seven in Great Britain and Germany. But the proportion of students going up to university education compared to the general population is very low. There is only one university student in India to every 2,206 persons as against 1 to 225 in the United States, 1 to 690 in Germany and 1 to 837 in Great Britain. A large percentage of educated classes in India set before them the hall-mark of a university degree as the goal of their ambition. But most graduates are not equipped with technical knowledge to qualify them for avocations in life to meet the practical requirements of the country and the people. Among the university graduates, 20 per cent. are unemployed ; 50 per cent. are in jobs for which high school education would suffice. Before the War, from 60 to 70 per cent. of the applicants for minor posts in Government service were persons with university qualifications.

The future of the Church in India depends not only on a numerous and zealous clergy but also on an outstanding laity, who by their deep knowledge of the faith, Christian character and example will leaven the mass and make Christian principles more effective in public life. Without such laity, the winning of India to Christ and the influencing of the intelligentsia must remain an idle dream. And such a laity can receive full Catholic formation only if religion is made the central and vitalising

tor of higher education. "Let religion," wrote Leo XIII, "give m and shape entirely to every branch of study, whatever its nature be, l dominate it. Let it so strike the soul of the young with its majesty l entirety as to leave on them deep impressions." Catholic colleges 're undoubtedly rendered immense service to the progress of the Church India. The general position and prestige of the Church stand high ere we have colleges. They are sources of enormous influence, ellectually, morally and spiritually. Thanks to them, Catholics are ced on a level with the advanced sections of the general population. me of our ablest priests are engaged in them, and from the viewpoint academic efficiency our colleges are second to none. The eagerness non-Christian parents to send their children to these colleges is a proof sitive of their high standing and educational worth. But with the lical changes in India in social and economic life, the purely secular ogrammes of universities and the enslavement of staff and students ke to the examination system and the vast majorities of non-Catholics our colleges, the need is urgent of a more thorough formation of a large mber of enlightened and earnest Catholics. The building up of an dependent system of Catholic higher education by means of a university our own will help to provide the country with a body of trained and pable leaders, who will give India through their example and teaching e inexhaustible riches of Christ.

shop's House
Bangalore, August 18, 1945.

✠ Thomas Pothacamury
Bishop of Bangalore

Since the above was written, events in Travancore have given rise to nsiderable apprehension for Catholics throughout the country. The overnment have passed orders establishing a State monopoly over imary education and declaring that, in consonance "with their declared licy of religious neutrality," they "do not propose to give any grant primary schools run especially or primarily for the purpose of imparting specific type of religious education." Catholic schools will be allowed function, but will not receive State aid. Of the 2,093 primary hools, the larger number are in the hands of Catholics.

The new policy of the State will result in a huge financial loss to the ristian community, particularly Catholics. An attempt is being made weaken the power and influence of Christianity, which has made nsiderable progress through its schools and other institutions, and if ssible, eventually, to liquidate it. For the last one month a controversy s been going on in the Press, and Hindu publicists have indulged in tter attacks against Conversion, Proselytism, Missionaries and Christian stitutions.

October 10, 1945.

NATIONALISM: A SURVEY

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

ONE of the most useful refinements made by Aristotle in Plato's thought was his introduction of the distinction between the speculative and the practical reason. By showing that the skill of the practical man is at once dependent on and different from the contemplation of the philosopher or man of science, he solved the problem which had haunted his master's whole life, and found the reason why philosophers are not normally Kings nor Kings philosophers. Politics is the supreme example of a calling which shares in both virtues; but speculative wisdom is not directly convertible into prudence, and the art of the practical statesman often consists in "keeping his principles intact and acting according to circumstances". Rigid and inflexible logic is even a greater obstacle to political success than is unbounded opportunism. At the same time right reason can never be flouted without ultimate disaster. A policy founded on a paradox or on a set of mutually incompatible theses may seem temporarily to bring victory to its exponents and even to triumph over all rival policies, especially if it has a strong emotional appeal; but as Demosthenes says of tyranny, Time always finds it out and in the end it is doomed to fruitless decay.

The thinkers who set themselves to explain the philosophical significance of modern physical discoveries tell us of a "principle of indeterminancy" at the heart of matter. "If we know the exact speed of motion of an electron," says Sir James Jeans, "nature refuses to let us discover its exact position in space. It is as though the position and motion of the electron had been marked on the two different faces of a lantern slide. If we put the slide in a bad lantern, we can focus half-way between the two faces, and shall see both the position and motion of the electron tolerably clearly. With a perfect lantern, we could not do this; the more we focussed on one, the more blurred the other would become."

There is a remarkable analogy between this principle and the paradox which seems to lie at the root of the political concept known as nationalism. Every attempt to reach an exact definition of the term "nation," on which the concept is founded, has broken down for want of a universally adequate criterion. As with the speed and position of the electron, so with the properties or attributes which constitute, so to speak, the matter of a nation. By the use of an imperfect instrument, in this case the lantern of propaganda, we can obtain a tolerably clear notion of the mutual relation of these constituents. If we view them through the precise lenses of science, we simply blur one of them by focussing on the other.

Thus it is that whether we take race or language, geography or history as a test of nationhood, we always find ourselves in the end in the presence

a paradox. We can never get any two of these constituents into clear cus ; the test that seems decisive when applied to one nation is flatly ntradicted by the case of another, and each single nation provides a aring exception to some rule. The fact is that there can be no commonly plicable definition, because there is here no such thing as a *genus* which e can isolate in our thought from its *species*. Every nation is *sui generis*, 1 entity subject to no laws but its own.

It is commonly held by enthusiasts on the subject that there exists 1 objective and definable thing called " nationality " which confers the ght to nationhood and justifies the strong output of complex emotions nown as nationalism. As a matter of history these emotions have in ct transformed Europe during the past two centuries, and fifty years go it was taken for granted by almost all historians that nationalism was oth a powerful solvent for all political problems and an entirely beneficent rce. There were, it is true, certain warnings against excessive confidence its goodness, as when Lord Acton in 1862 declared that, owing to the nflicts to which it inevitably gave rise, nationalism was the greatest iversary of the rights of nations. Such pessimism at that time was most incredible, and it had no effect. The march of nationalism went 1 irresistibly until in 1919 the Peace of Versailles, following the lines id down by President Wilson, purported to begin a new age for humanity y its principle of national self-determination.

As often happens, however, theory had in this case outrun practice, nd the statesmen of 1919 were giving life to an idea which had even lready been deprived by scholarship of its whole theoretical foundation. Historians had long before begun to realise that " nationality " is little etter than a fiction designed to give scientific authority to a ready-made octrine which was prior to it in time. Theoretically the whole problem ad been worked out in the famous debate which followed the Franco-russian War and in which the issue was the national status of Alsace nd Lorraine. In his reply to Mommsen, during the course of the war, ustel de Coulanges had reprimanded the great German historian for not eing aware that " it is neither race nor language that makes nationality ". welve years later, in a celebrated lecture of 1882, Ernest Renan summed p the results of the argument. Both sides had accepted the principle f nationality, but they had differed widely as to its definition. Renan's cture is still constantly quoted as the last word on the subject ; it is eldom seen that what he really did was explicitly to reject all attempts t a scientific definition of nationality and to substitute for them a few hetorical phrases.

Renan begins by showing that the French nation was not founded on single race but on a process of historical fusion in the course of which everal originally distinct races had been, so to speak, consumed. Then n turn he takes all the other customary criteria of nationality and

demonstrates their insufficiency. Long rule by a single dynasty fails for example in the cases of Switzerland, the United States, and France itself, which had renounced its Kings. Language is an aid to unity, not an essential, as is proved by England and the United States, Spain and Latin America. Religion, which had once dictated the formation of social groups, has in modern times become a matter of personal choice. The claim of common interest is dismissed by the epigram " a customs union is not a Fatherland ". Natural frontiers are as much a bond of union as a principle of division ; nations are no more the result of geographical than they are of zoological factors.

What, then, is the masterkey which unlocks all these doors successively closed upon the secret of nationality? It has more resemblance to a conjurer's wand than to any solid implement. " Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel." Two elements, which in truth are but one, come together to make up this spiritual principle or soul. One belongs to the past, the other to the present. The first is " the possession in common of a rich heritage of memories ". The other is " mutual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to preserve undivided the heritage which has been handed down ". " *Avoir des gloires communes dans le passé, une volonté commune dans le présent ; avoir fait de grandes choses ensemble, vouloir en faire encore, voilà les conditions essentielles pour être un peuple.*" It is clear that we have abandoned the region of science for that of rhetoric or poetry. None of Renan's terms is capable of precise definition, and his own conclusion is open to exactly the same criticism that he brings to bear, for example, on the test of religion. Such sentiments as he invokes vary notoriously from individual to individual. It would be as easy, for example, for an Irishman and an Englishman to differ on whether the exploits of the Dublin Fusiliers or the Connaught Rangers constitute " a common glory in the past " as it would be for them to disagree on the validity of the Sacraments or on the celibacy of the clergy.

The doctrine of nationalism may be compared to a powerful intoxicant, which in small doses is harmless and even stimulating, but in large quantities is very dangerous. In this country we like to think ourselves temperate in our addiction to it ; but, as is often the case with alcohol, it has ended by becoming a necessary part of our daily diet. We commonly believe it to be good for us, and if ever called upon to justify our partiality for it we vehemently assert that our particular brand of intoxicant is not the poisonous stuff consumed in such copious draughts by continental peoples, but just plain and simple patriotism—perhaps a little gingered up with a dash of a strictly native brew called Irish nationality, but none the less sound and healthy for that. Thus we use the word " national " in the most varied applications : we have a National University, a National Library, a National Language, National Athletics, and even a National Stud ; and in many of these uses the adjective is taken by large numbers

our people in no idle sense. In this way we make the intoxicant, to ıose real nature we are impervious, a part of every meal, and often dulge in a nip in between meals.

A little reflection is enough to show that nationalism in fact implies votion to a doctrine. Thus it is admitted that every Irish boy and Irish l is not born a little nationalist. On the contrary, the common experience one of conversion to nationalism, an event which normally takes place ıring adolescence, though it is sometimes a good deal retarded, and is nerally more violent if it occurs late in life. It is closely analogous to e religious conversion which is so familiar a feature in Evangelical otestantism ; and the analogy is not at all accidental, because nationalism rives in large part from post-reformation German origins. Phrases hich have a clear meaning in religion and nowhere else are so constantly ed in a nationalistic context that they pass without the oddity of the ansfer being noticed. Thus Pearse could describe the writings of Tone, avis, Lalor and Mitchel as " the four gospels of Irish Nationality," ıd could speak of Tone's grave as " holier even than St. Patrick's grave Down ". In so writing and speaking he was indeed expressing the ationalist doctrine at its most extreme, but it can hardly be said that he as perverting or misrepresenting it.

The great paradox of Irish nationalism at the present time also results om Pearse's teaching. Readiness to confer Irish nationality on nyone, no matter what his origin, religion, language or political adition, on compliance with some easy requirements as to residence, coupled with vehement insistence, as on an unalterable law, on the roposition that the Irish language is the indispensable badge of Irish ationhood. There is considerable doubt as to whether Pearse himself ould have carried the linguistic demand to such extremes in practice as is disciples have done. He always preached, not the desirability of aking Irish the sole language of the people, but the advantages of ilingualism ; his successors have given his doctrine a sharper formulation, s he did the doctrine of Davis. No one before him had gone so far in ttempting to amalgamate the old pre-nationalist Gaelic tradition with ıe political impetus deriving from the eighteenth-century Ascendancy.)avis had indeed pointed the way with his view that all Irish-*born* men vho were *true to Ireland* were thereby made Irishmen. In this view the dea of conversion and mental adherence to a semi-religious doctrine was lready implicit. Pearse went a step farther with his much stronger Gaelic bias, derived from his familiarity with the Gaelic language and terature ; but his combination of Tone's principles with Gaelicism was till defensible, if barely so. The final leap into the realm of utter indeter-ninancy has been taken by the conjuncture of the modern nationality aw with compulsory Irish for all.

Gavan Duffy tells us in *Young Ireland* how Davis, in a memoir

unpublished till long after his death, had claimed for himself the credit of having taught the true doctrine of nationality to his colleagues on *The Nation*. " The notion " said Davis " had been *made* in the Historical Societies of Dublin, and belongs to Trinity College Protestants and a few Roman Catholics of T.C.D." Till he met Davis, Gavan Duffy admits, he himself had only been a Nationalist of the school of Roger O Moore. He does not define precisely for us what he meant by this admission; but we can readily guess. His nationalism was simply the instinctive feeling of the native Catholic Irishman, " who burned," as he puts it, " to set up again the Celtic race and the Catholic Church ". This is not nationalism in the commonly accepted sense of the word. It is a form of the traditionalism which has perhaps been best described by Charles Maurras in *Mes Idées Politiques*.[1] " It is not our will that has made us French," says Maurras. " We have not willed our nationality; we have neither deliberated nor even accepted it. . . . the *patrie* is a *natural* society or, what comes to the same thing, a *historic* one. Its decisive characteristic is birth. We no more choose our *patrie*—the land of our fathers—than we choose our father and mother." Gavan Duffy was of course consciously a Benthamite, but by instinct he was a traditionalist.

It is only on this traditionalist view that the insistence on such ordinances as compulsory Irish can be logically justified. The use of language as a test or token of political adhesion is as old as Gideon, but it implies a comparatively stable society in which racial and local allegiances have also their part to play. Obviously it can no longer work when applied to a society in which membership is regarded as a matter of consent or will. The traditionalist takes his community for granted, and is apt to be rather bewildered to find others who have only joined it by a process akin to religious conversion assuming the right to instruct him on how to be what he feels he already is by birth and nature. In its extreme form this instinct may easily give rise to a dangerous exclusiveness, as it did in the case of Maurras with his distinction between Frenchmen and *métèques*, and may lead to an acceptance of the sort of *Blut und Boden* aberrations that have ruined Germany. This happens most easily when it is combined with a variety of doctrinal nationalism of the kind that has during the past two centuries got such a grip on Europe as a whole.

There are two great strands in the pattern of this doctrine, one mainly historical and of French origin, the other notional or mystical and German. The French strand is derived from the Revolutionary ideal of *la Nation une et indivisée*. In this ideal the absolutism of the French monarchy in its Bourbon phase is transferred to Rousseau's *volonté générale*. Indivisibility of the Nation and omnipotence of the State which is its expression are the great Revolutionary legacy to Europe. The German strand has its origin chiefly in the work of Johann Gottfried Herder

[1] Quoted by Alfred Cobban, *National Self-Determination*, p. 48.

1744-1803) whose teaching and influence have just been summed up in a most valuable book by Mr. A. Gillies of University College, Hull.[1] It would not be easy to overestimate the extent to which Herder assisted in forming the ideas, not alone of leading men in every country from his own day till now, but of very many devotees of nationalism who have perhaps never heard his name. Mr. Gillies shows in what diverse and detailed ways he inspired Goethe and other German Romanticists and nationalists. Hs was also the true parent of Panslavism, and one of his disciples was the Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, whose *Book of the Polish Pilgrims*, translated into Irish by Liam O'Rinn, was serialised in Arthur Griffith's weekly *Nationality*. If Mickiewicz had thus some slight influence in Ireland, he was only indirectly repaying the strange debt owed by Herder to the saga of the Fianna through the medium of Macpherson's *Ossian*—a debt fully and skilfully evaluated by Mr. Gillies. Herder was furthermore of great importance among the teachers of Renan, who called him his *penseur-roi*, and another of his most prominent disciples in a later generation than his own was the revolutionary Italian nationalist Mazzini, who also had much influence in Ireland.

Herder believed in the Nation as a kind of intermediary between God and the individual. Much as he differed from Hegel, they had this in common, that for both of them Divinity manifests itself in a form of secular society. For Hegel this manifestation is through the State ; for Herder it is through the Nation. According to Herder, God from time to time chooses a certain nation to be the agent of His purposes. He conceives the Nation, thus given a kind of Messianic mission, as a living entity going back for the roots of its being to a primitive heroic age and looking forward towards a glorification of Humanity. No better summary of his ideas on this whole subject can be found than in a quotation by Mr. Gillies from Mazzini, whose words closely echo those of his master. " Every people has its special mission, which will co-operate towards the general mission of humanity. That mission constitutes its nationality. Nationality is sacred."

When Herder's ideas were taken up by the Slavs and enunciated on their behalf by Palacky at the abortive Slav congress in 1848, the Austrian poet Grillparzer commented bitterly : " Der Weg der neueren Bildung geht von Humanität durch Nationalität zur Bestialität." [2] Grillparzer was merely giving witty expression to his dislike of Czech nationalism, but in a more general sense than he intended he was a true prophet. Herder was by no means a narrow German nationalist, nor can he be fairly accused of being a precursor of the Nazis, but his doctrine proved to have terrific explosive force ; and, instead of leading to a wider humanity

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[1] *Herder*. By A. Gillies. Oxford : Blackwell. 1945. 12s. 6d. net.

[2] " The path of modern culture leads from Humanity through Nationality to bestiality." Quoted by Mr. Gillies, p. 131.

as he hoped, the intensive cultivation of nationalist emotions has led in the long run to the horrors of the concentration camp and the suicide of Germany. By the inspiration he afforded to Masaryk Herder may also be said to have started the process of disintegration which was to destroy the Habsburg Empire. From their original home in Central Europe his ideas, amalgamated with or crossed by those set in motion by the French Revolution, have by now gone all round the world. Zionism is one of their indirect products, Indian nationalism is another, and we are just now witnessing the birth of a new and militant nationality in Indonesia.

The reader who wishes to get a fair and very moderate account of nationalism as a force in world-politics and a reasonable estimate of its future can hardly do better than consult a work published this year by the Royal Institute for International Affairs,[1] in which Dr. Alfred Cobban considers the problem in the setting of the peace treaties following on the first World War. Of his fifteen chapters, four are historical and throw great light both on developments during the nineteenth century and on the shifting policies of the Great Powers which were to issue in a series of unsatisfactory compromises between Wilsonian idealism and European realism in 1919. The conclusion from this part of his study is that "self-determination" cannot be an absolute right, and that great evils have been caused by the movement to equate or identify the concepts of Nation and State. This conclusion is then applied, first to the historical formulation of the theory of the Nation-State, and then to the present-day policies of the three subsisting Great Powers, the British Empire, the United States and Russia. As was to be expected, Ireland gets a section to herself, and there is much in Dr. Cobban's discussion of Commonwealth relations in general which has an interest for Irish readers.

"The essential price of the triumph of Irish nationalism" says Dr. Cobban "was partition. In Ireland, the fatal logic of the nation-state held in check in Canada and South Africa, had triumphed. Except where a community is culturally homogeneous, the principle of the nation-state means that the success of a majority in achieving self-determination will involve the assimilation, extinction, or exclusion of the minority. The Ulster Orangemen, with Great Britain behind them, were able to insist on the third of these possibilities." This summing-up ignores the crucial question of the area excluded as appertaining to the minority, but otherwise it can hardly be called an unfair statement of the present position. In more fortunate countries such as Canada and South Africa, a similar problem has been solved by the establishment of multi-national communities. It is noteworthy too, though little noticed in Ireland, that South Africa had a special problem arising out of Great Britain's need for a naval base in its territory. This problem was solved in 192

[1] *National Self-Determination.* By Alfred Cobban. Oxford University Press. 1945. 15s. net.

by the Smuts-Churchill agreement, under which " Great Britain handed over to South African sovereignty the naval base at Simonstown and agreed that its land defences should be entrusted to the Union. South Africa for her part guaranteed the use of Simonstown to Great Britain as a naval base in peace and war. General Hertzog contended that this arrangement did not necessarily compromise the neutrality of South Africa, and though this view was contested, the general opinion seems to be that it is valid, at least in law." The bearing of this opinion on Irish questions of a similar kind is too obvious to need further emphasis.

In Dr. Cobban's view, great evil has been caused by the conjuncture of extreme political nationalism with the tendency, implicit in all European history since the French Revolution, to exaggerate beyond reason the sovereign power of the State. The true and original function of the State, he asserts, is the preservation of law and order, the maintenance of the social fabric, and the defence of society against civil war and anarchy. If this limited view of State-power could be made to prevail, there would be ample room within its framework for wide cultural, religious, linguistic and racial variety. The dissociation of politics from nationality would permit of many valuable forms of regional autonomy and would give scope for the kind of traditional and instinctive patriotism which is much more natural to humanity than the doctrinaire nationalist emotion created and fed by propaganda. Religion, education, and language are matters in which the State should have as little as possible to say, and to them could well be added the activities of local professional, trading, and similar associations. Dr. Cobban mentions with some approval a distinction made about thirty years ago by the German historian Meinecke between *Kulturnationen* and *Staatsnationen*, or between cultural and political nationality. The distinction is useful in so far as it emphasises the incompatibility of State and culture, the ignoring of which has led in modern times to the subjection of the education of whole communities to political parties of the totalitarian type. It is dangerous if it be taken to imply any identity between the concept of nationality and culture; Meinecke's phrase must be so understood as to give the word *Kulturnation* the sense merely of " cultural group or community," the emphasis again being on the sharing of a common tradition.

The idea of " national culture " is even less sound in logic or history than that of the political nation. It springs almost directly from Herder's dream that Germany should become another Greece in her own right, which in turn was inspired partly by Rousseau and partly by " Ossian ". Though Herder was in some ways a severe critic of Rousseau, there can be little doubt that he derived from him his early hostility to the Enlightenment and the Renaissance, later overlaid by his enthusiasm for Greece. This bias against the Renaissance was a powerful element in his own theory of " natural " culture, and went hand in hand with his devotion

to ballad poetry and his " Ossianic " glorification of the poet as " moral priest " of the Folk. It is interesting to note with what regularity this feature in nationalist theory reproduces itself down to our own day. The opening chapter of Professor Daniel Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*, with its strong denunciation of the Renaissance, is almost worthy of the pen of Herder himself.

Historically speaking, it is very doubtful whether the term " national culture " has any meaning at all. Cultures are obviously far older than nations and can never be shown to coincide with them. Modern European culture is in reality one, a rich composite of Hebrew, Greek and Roman elements. It has of course multiple local variations, which should be fostered and preserved, but not for nationalist reasons. Experience has shown only too clearly that far from being favourable to such cultural variations, nationalism, with its inherent emphasis on State-omnipotence and centralisation, is among their deadliest foes. We are living during the last phase of an apparently inevitable historical process, which is likely to end in the emergence of a single all-powerful world-State, similar on a far grander scale to the Roman Empire. In the struggle which is fairly certain to precede this final development, the nation-State with its claim to omnipotence is far more likely to weaken civilisation than to strengthen it, because of its very nature it breeds disunion. The dream of an ideal world of co-equal nation-States has vanished with the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, and is very unlikely to return. Nationalism has not led to an ideal universal Humanity, but has very nearly brought down civilisation because of its inherent indeterminancy and its logical self-contradictions. How much will survive will depend on whether its wilder aberrations can be controlled, and superseded by rational and constructive patriotism of a less doctrinal and more traditional kind.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

OME QUERIES REGARDING CHEAP MONEY

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

TO the reader unversed in financial terminology the expression "cheap money" must appear to be a contradiction in terms. Money is the measuring rod which expresses the value of everything else. How then can it be cheap or dear? To talk of cheap money seems to involve the same absurdity as to talk of a long mile or a heavy ton. A measure of value cannot deviate in terms of itself. The absurdity disappears when it is explained that money may be exchanged for money at another point in time. Every loan is essentially a swap between a payment of money at the date of the loan and a repayment of money at a later date. The price that is paid for this swap is the rate of interest. When the rate of interest is low, loans can be obtained on favourable terms and money is said to be cheap. Loans are made for all sorts of periods varying from one day to many years. The line between the market for short loans, the money market, and that for long loans, the capital market, is not very distinct. Strictly speaking the expressions cheap and dear money apply only to loans in the money market, but modern usage has extended their use to loans in the capital market. At the present time low rates of interest on short and long loans alike are described as cheap money. Indeed, in contemporary political discussion, it is the maintenance of the long rate at a low level that is usually the aim of a so-called cheap money policy.

Before discussing the effects of cheap money it may be well to indicate the principal changes that have taken place in interest rates in recent years. The following table[1] shows the typical long and short rates respectively in the London money market for nearly a century. The British rates are selected, first because Great Britain has been the pioneer of cheap money, and, secondly, because British rates have sympathetic repercussions throughout the sterling area which includes Ireland. Indeed, Irish rates are peculiarly sensitive to changes in English rates owing to the mobility of funds between the two countries.

Period	Average Yield on Consols.	Average Rate of Discount on 3 months Bills.
1849–1909	3·0	3·2
1910–1914	3·3	3·4
1915–1918	4·3	4·3
1919–1921	5·1	5·1
1922–1931	4·5	3·8
1932–1938	3·3	0·8
1939–1943	3·1	1·0

[1] Taken from an article by E. V. Morgan entitled *The Future of Interest Rates* in *The Economic Journal* December 1944.

Several significant facts are disclosed by these figures. The long rate was abnormally high in the period 1915–1931. In the period before the first war the long rate was a little over 3%, to which it returned after the great depression of 1929–31. The late Professor Cassel argued that there are certain natural forces, amongst others the normal expectation of human life, tending to keep the long rate of interest at around 3%, and recent experience would appear to support his contention. The abnormal rise which began in 1915 was the result of the methods of financing the war. As soon as the aftermath of war finance was cleared away, the rate tended to approximate to its nineteenth century level. There is no doubt that interest rates all over the world were lower in the thirties than in the twenties. This indicated that rates were abnormally high in the earlier rather than abnormally low in the later decade. If long-term money has been cheap in recent years, it is only relative to its unusual dearness in the war and post-war years. Efforts are, apparently, about to be made to reduce the long-term rate in Great Britain to less than 3%. If these efforts succeed, the long rate will be low compared with any available standard.

Possibly the most remarkable change shown in the table is the drop in the short loan rate after 1931. Throughout the nineteenth century the long and the short rates diverged but little. Frequently the short rate was higher than the long. Since 1931 short rates have dropped to a definitely lower level, where, it is reasonable to predict, they will continue to remain. The average of central bank discount rates in ten representative countries (Australia, Chile, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Poland, Great Britain and the U.S.A.) was 3·61% in the years 1935–8 compared with 6·27% in the years 1925–8. In respect of short rates the thirties was emphatically a period of cheap money. Indeed the widening of the margin between short and long rates suggests that it was mainly in the money market that loans were abnormally cheap. It must not be overlooked that the long-term rate quoted, the yield on consols, is the lowest yield in the long-term gilt-edged market. The rate of interest on industrial debentures and on mortgages did not fall as low as that on consols. Borrowing on these classes of security did not cheapen to anything like the same extent as government borrowing. The influence of cheap money was only partially extended to the commercial or private borrower. This consideration is relevant in discussing the post-war situation, when private will tend to replace public borrowing.

The first war was financed largely by long-term borrowing at rising rates of interest. The largest single British Government security after the war was the 5% war loan which cast its shadow over the gilt-edged market until its conversion in 1932. The short-term rate was kept up by the British policy of restoring and maintaining the old gold parity of the pound at any cost. Prior to 1925, when the gold standard was

restored, rates were kept high as part of the deflationary measures designed to raise the value of the pound, and, after 1925, they were kept high in the attempt to save the overvalued pound from depreciation. After the pound had left gold in September 1931, these defensive tactics were no longer necessary and the road was open to a cheap money policy. It must be admitted that the British monetary authorities made the fullest use of their newly found freedom.

The desire to indulge in cheap money played no part in the departure of the pound from gold. On the contrary, every effort, however deflationary, was made to preserve the gold standard. When, however, the forces of depreciation had proved too strong to be resisted, the British Government was quick to realize the possibilities of the situation. The first use made of it was to convert the 5% War Loan in 1932. This operation was preceded by open market operations by the Bank of England designed to raise the value and reduce the yield of gilt-edged securities. At the World Economic Conference in 1933 the British monetary authorities were willing to sacrifice their freedom in regard to interest rates in order to restore the gold standard. When that effort at international stabilization failed, cheap money became the accepted policy in Great Britain. The years of business recovery that followed suggested some connection between trade revival and cheap money. From the coincidence of synchronization casual relations were deduced. The same beliefs were held in the United States, when the Hoover administration had started a cheap money policy while Great Britain was still on gold. The New Deal adopted cheap money as one of its essential principles. Money was probably never cheaper than in the United States in the middle thirties. The failure of business to revive, unless aided by enormous public expenditure, disproved the universal validity of the British experience that cheap money went hand in hand with trade recovery. Nevertheless cheap money continued as a central article in the American economic creed. The example of the two great capitalist countries was followed elsewhere. By the end of the thirties the benefits of cheap money were accepted by large numbers of economists, bankers and business men all over the world.

Cheap money was continued during the war. All experience would suggest that a period of total war would witness progressive rises in the rate of interest. In this, as in many other respects, the war belied expectations. The movements of the official bank rates of twenty-seven central banks between 1938 and 1944 were, almost without exception, downwards. The maintenance of cheap money in wartime was facilitated by the government's complete control of the economic system. The strictest control was maintained of the foreign exchanges and the capital market. The public were forced to save on a very large scale. The only choice that was open to the public was in what form to hold their savings. They could lend them overtly to the government by subscribing to the numerous

loans or they could hold them in bank deposits, in which case the banks lent equivalent sums to the government in very cheap and short-dated loans. The amount borrowed by the government depended upon the needs of war expenditure. The terms on which it was borrowed depended upon the public's preference for holding their savings in income-yielding or in liquid forms. The government was a monopolist borrower and could fix the price which it was prepared to pay for the various types of accommodation which it required.

A monopolist seller can fix either the price at which he will sell or the amount to be sold. He cannot fix both. Similarly a monopolist borrower can fix either the price he will pay for loans of different maturities or the amount to be borrowed, but not both. Once the prices of different types of loan has been fixed, it is the public who decide how much of each will be taken up. Generally speaking, the shorter the length of a loan the lower the rate of interest. The public must be attracted either by a secured income for a stated number of years or by liquidity. During the war the British public showed a marked preference for liquidity. In the years 1938–9 to 1943–4, debt of less than one year's maturity increased from £1,305·3 mn. to £7,753·6 mn., and debt of over ten years maturity from £5,182·1 mn. to £7,053·5 mn. The composition of the British national debt changed remarkably during this period.

Latest date of repayment	Per cent. of total debt[1]	
	1938–9.	1943–4.
Under 1 year	18·1	42·4
1 to 5 years	6·2	7·0
5 to 10 years	4·2	11·4
Over 10 years	71·5	38·5

The average rate paid on the short debt was very low. The rate paid on Treasury Deposit Receipts was 1⅛% and that on Treasury Bills averaged about 1%. So far as the floating debt is concerned, it is correct to describe the war as a cheap money war. This cheapness was of course of immediate benefit to the Exchequer which may, however, experience future difficulties when the problem of funding has to be faced. One advantage of borrowing on high rates during a war is that subsequent conversions tend to be downwards. Any funding operations after this war will be upwards. The cheapness of the war borrowing was a function almost entirely of the

[1] Morgan, *art. cit.*, p. 345.

shortness of the loans. The price paid for the low rate of interest was a high degree of liquidity. When the public was offered anything in the nature of even a fairly long loan, the price never fell below 3%. In July 1945 the British Government issued £120,000,000 3% terminable annuities for the Post Office Savings Bank, £7,079,000 3% Defence Bonds and £83,110,000 3% Savings Bonds 1965–75. The war borrowing was cheap because it was short. When longer loans were attempted, the nineteenth century long-rate norm tended to reappear. However, for loans of the same maturity rates were lower than in the first world war. From the point of view of long interest rates the second war may be properly described as a cheap money war. The next question is whether it will be a cheap money peace. The Labour Government has categorically announced that cheap money is part of its policy and has already reduced money market rates to the lowest level ever attained. It is clear that this declaration applies to the long rate of interest as well as to money market rates. Indeed it is the long rate that is relevant to the finance of housing and reconstruction. It is expected, as already stated, that an effort will be made to reduce the long rate below 3%. It is interesting to speculate what consequences the successful pursuit of this policy may imply.

That cheap money is beneficial appears to be unanimously accepted to-day. The advent of low interest rates has been greeted with widespread, if uncritical, approval. Three advantages, in particular, are claimed for a cheap money policy. It prevents the dangerous consequences of oversaving, it stimulates business expansion and it reduces the burden of public debts. The problem of oversaving was discussed in a recent number of STUDIES,[1] in which it was argued that conditions of oversaving are rare. The great problem for the next few years will be not to damp down but to stimulate saving. The world is hungry for capital and there is a danger that saving will be insufficient unless it is vigorously encouraged or, if necessary, forced. If, at some future date, when the ravages and destruction of war have been repaired, oversaving begins to appear, cheap money may prove to be of advantage. Such conditions are, unfortunately, so distant as to be hardly in sight.

The proposition that cheap money stimulates business expansion is very questionable. The margin of profitable investment extends with every fall in the rate of interest. If the price of money were the only factor to be considered cheap money would, no doubt, act as a stimulant to trade. There are, however, other factors that, experience suggests, are more important. The chief of these is the condition of business confidence. The United States were flooded with very cheap money in the thirties, but no real recovery from depression took place. This is a particularly good example, because the cheap money rates in the United States were the result of the vast inflow of funds and were, in no sense, artificial or

[1] *New Views on Unemployment.* STUDIES, March 1945, p. 53.

managed. It was a period of genuine cheap money not induced by deliberate policy. Yet borrowing and investment continued obstinately stagnant because of the absence of demand for loans. The whole subject is admittedly controversial, but fairly general agreement might be reached on the statement that cheap money is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition of business revival.

The argument in favour of cheap money that has carried the day is that it reduces the cost of public borrowing. Even before the war governments were interfering more and more in the capital markets. The whole trend of events was towards the public control of Central Banks. These tendencies were greatly accentuated by the war when governments became by far the largest, indeed practically the only, borrowers. Monopolists will always fix prices most favourable to themselves, and it is not surprising that governments borrowing gigantic sums should have borrowed at the lowest possible rates. In the period after the war governments will continue to borrow large amounts for reconstruction, housing and other purposes. It is to be expected that they will continue to keep rates down to the minimum practicable level. A government, possessed of the controls that governments command to-day, can exert a considerable influence on the price of money. This influence will undoubtedly be actively employed to keep money cheap. It is important that all the implications of that policy should be clearly understood.

The pursuit of a cheap money policy is quite irreconcilable with a free foreign exchange market. The international gold standard depended for its successful working upon changes in short money rates. In the period between the two wars many devices were elaborated to protect the internal monetary conditions in gold standard countries from the effects of international capital movements of one form or another. In spite of these devices the gold standard broke down and the thirties was a period characterized by fluctuating exchanges and exchange controls. During the war all foreign exchanges were totally controlled. Internal monetary policy was not hampered by the necessity of safeguarding the exchange position. Efforts are being made to construct in the future an international monetary system based fundamentally on fixed exchange parities. Ingenious machinery is being constructed to ensure that temporary disequilibria in balances of payments will not necessitate deflationary measures in the debit countries. Such protection can, in its very nature, be only temporary. Long-period disequilibria will, in the absence of the variation of exchange parities, call for adjustments in the credit conditions of the debit countries. To the extent that such adjustments may need rises in money rates they are inconsistent with a cheap money policy. Free multilateral trade based on an international monetary system will be unattainable unless interest rates are free to make the appropriate variations. One of the prices that have to be paid for cheap money is a restrictive policy in international trade.

Cheap money is equally inconsistent with a free capital market. In war-time the government is the monopolist borrower who can fix rates to suit its own convenience. But in peacetime demands for loans are made by businessmen, companies and private borrowers. If they overbid the government, the rate of interest will rise and the policy of cheap money will be defeated. The whole capital market would gradually have to be controlled on the lines of the Capital Issues Committee during the war. One function of the rate of interest is to direct investment into the most profitable channels and thus ensure that the savings of society are most usefully employed. But this function could not be fully performed if rates were tied down at artificial levels. The vested interest of the Exchequer in cheap money would displace the legitimate requirements of industry in the capital market which would exhibit the wartime features of " queueing, rationing and artificial rates ".[1]

The foreign exchange market and the capital market must therefore be controlled if a policy of cheap money is to be made fully effective. The rate of interest is one of the great regulative forces in the economic system, and any attempt to divert it away from its natural level must have many incalculable repercussions. The present value of all capital assets is a function of the rate of interest. One result of a persistent lowering of rates is to confer an unearned bonus on the owners of existing capital. If the long rate of interest could be forced down to 2%, the market value of first-class irredeemable 4% debentures would be 200. The downward pressure on rates has already raised the market value of every type of security. Large numbers of investors find themselves in possession of considerable paper profits which constitute an inflationary potential. Any widespread decision to utilize these paper profits to purchase consumers' goods would make the potential inflation actual. To prevent this danger the armoury of anti-inflationary measures at the disposal of the government may have to be employed. But this involves still further controls.

It is not only because of its effect on the value of capital assets that cheap money is inflationary. It is inflationary in essence. The successful operation of a cheap money policy is bound to have inflationary consequences if drastic steps are not taken to counter the danger. To expect cheap money not to produce inflation is like expecting the consumption of intoxicants not to produce intoxication. One inevitable feature of a cheap money policy is that it is the public, and not the Central Bank, that decides the volume of credit. It is by controlling credit that a Central Bank normally keeps inflationary tendencies in check. A Central Bank pursuing a cheap money policy abdicates its power to control the volume of credit, because any attempt to exercise that control might raise interest rates and thus frustrate its major objective. A Central Bank possesses two

[1] *The Economist*, 27 October, 1945.

weapons to check a boom, an increase in bank rate and a restriction o the volume of credit. The use of either of these weapons raises th level of interest rates and is therefore incompatible with a chea money policy.

A cursory examination of British war finance reveals some of th consequences of cheap money. The government had to raise by borrowin the difference between the outlay on the war and the yield of taxation Every effort was made to persuade the public to lend their saving voluntarily. Savings campaigns were organized and reasonably hig rates of interest were offered on long and medium-dated loans. Th response was not sufficient to fill the gap which had to be filled by borrowing on very easy terms, from the banks. The great expansion in the floatin debt mainly represented this type of borrowing. As the governme spent the borrowed money, it came into the hands of the public who ha little choice but to save it owing to the shortage of goods, rationing an other obstacles to spending. The public could use their savings to bu new government loans or could leave them on deposit in the banks o hold them in cash. To the extent that the public, in the pursuit o liquidity, decided to hold their savings in bank deposits the credit structur was enlarged and, in order to preserve the conventional cash ratio o about ten per cent, the Central Bank had to provide more cash, which it did by purchasing securities. If the public elected to hold their saving in cash, the cash ratio of the banks was similarly undermined and th Central Bank had again to come to the rescue. Thus it will be seen tha it was the volume of deposits that determined the volume of cash instea of the converse relationship which prevailed under the gold standard The public decided how much of their savings they wished to hold i the most liquid form and the Central Bank provided the necessary cas basis. The volume of the fiduciary issue was expanded as the occasio required.

The result of this method of financing the war was the accumulatio of a very large volume of liquid assets. On March 31st 1945 the tota internal debt of the United Kingdom amounted to £21,130 mn. Thi included £3,680·665 mn. Treasury Bills, £1,859 mn. Treasury Deposi Receipts, £1,510·634 mn. National Savings Certificates, £682·512 mn Tax Reserve Certificates and £1,263·205 mn. Bonds maturing not late than 1948.[1] Added to this were the post-war deferred credits possesse by workers and companies and war gratuities. The greater part of thi floating debt was matched by new bank deposits. The relation betwee the expansion of the floating debt and the creation of bank deposits an the extent to which the banks were the residuary lenders to the governmen

[1] *The Danger of Inflation* by J. H. Jones. *Fortnightly Review*, June 1945.

re shown by the following figures relating to the London Clearing Banks[1] :—

	£mn.		
	August 1939	May 1945	War Increase
Deposits	2,177	4,483	2,306
Investments	599	1,126	527
T. D. R's.	—	1,881	1,881
Bills	279	120	—159
Loans to Money Market	147	196	49
Wartime purchases (or financing of purchases) of government securities	—	—	2,298
Advances	985	749	—236
Cash	233	482	249

The volume of cash and " near cash " in the hands of the public at the nd of the war is such as to constitute a terrific inflationary potential. With everybody eager to spend either on consumers' goods or on capital econstruction and restocking the situation is obviously pregnant with anger and calls for the sternest anti-inflationary measures. *The Economist* 14 July 1945) states that " energetic and enterprising propaganda as well s efficient physical controls will be needed to keep such tendencies in heck ". One potent measure will not be available, because it would onflict with the policy of cheap money. An extensive funding of the loating debt would greatly improve the composition of the national debt. Such a funding operation would depend upon the public's willingness to bsorb long-term securities at a rate which would not raise the general evel of interest rates. If the public refused to absorb such issues and, *a fortiori*, if they showed any tendency to sell existing gilt-edged securities, ither the rate of interest would be forced upwards or the banks would ave to buy sufficient quantities to maintain the price. Unless the cheap noney policy was dropped (which possibility may be dismissed) the latter lternative would be adopted, with the result that the volume of deposits vould still further increase. " So long as the monetary authorities seek o maintain cheap money they must dance to the public's tune. They

[1] *The Economist* 7 July 1945.

can regain their freedom of action only at the expense of the cheap money policy."[1]

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the successful pursuit of cheap money policy involves reactions in many directions. The control of the foreign exchanges to prevent flights of capital, the control of the capital market to prevent competitive bidding against the government and the control of prices and supplies to prevent inflation may all become necessary if the policy is not to be defeated. It is by no means certain that a free economic system will survive so many controls. Cheap money is justified on the grounds that it stimulates employment and reduces the burden of public debt. The effect upon investors is in danger of being overlooked. When all is said and done, the working of a capitalist system depends upon the initiative of capitalists. If capitalists are discouraged beyond a certain point, the system will fail to function. Whether the capitalist system should be replaced by a socialist or planned economy is a question on which a great deal can be said on both sides. Either system will work. Their respective merits are a matter of opinion. The type of system that will not work is one which, while nominally capitalist, is so hampered by controls that the investor is deprived of his normal incentives. Such a system combines the worst of both worlds.

The incentive that stimulates investors is a reasonable return on their capital. If the gilt-edged rate is kept very low, the yield on other types of security will be depressed in sympathy. Investors, seeking what they consider a reasonable return, will abandon gilt-edged securities for equities which will be bid up until their yield is also abnormally low. When account is taken of the prevailing rates of direct taxation, the net yield on all types of security are at present very low indeed. This cannot fail to have repercussions in the capital market. It is generally assumed that the rate of interest has practically no effect on saving to-day. Is this so certain? Is it possible that the insistence on forced saving in the transition period after the war arises from the meagre return available for the voluntary saver? Even assuming that the will to save is but slightly affected, is not the power to save reduced by low interest rates? Whatever the effect on saving may be, there is no doubt that the prevailing low rates tempt savers to keep their savings liquid. This causes the potential inflation which, rightly, gives rise to much anxiety. The fear of inflation undermines confidence and acts as a further deterrent to both voluntary saving and investment. Inflation, if it comes, ensures much forced saving at a totally disproportionate price.

The extreme liquidity of a cheap money system gives rise to certain problems which have received little, perhaps insufficient, attention. The inability to obtain more than a very low net return on savings has altered the outlook of the investing classes. It is extremely difficult to-day

[1] *The Economist* 4 August 1945.

uild up a position of financial independence in the sense that one can ve on the earnings of accumulated capital. Everybody is seeking investments that will give a capital gain. Some people are frankly making nds meet by a slow decumulation of old savings. The traditional rentier becoming a thing of the past. His passing is, for the most part, unnoticed nd, if noticed, unmourned. It is by no means certain, however, that is passing is a pure gain. The presence of a class of people with ndependent incomes derived from property can have useful political nd social consequences. A propertied class may act as a bulwark against tyrannical government. The ideal society is scarcely one composed of pendthrifts, gamblers and proletarians.

If the reduction of property incomes were confined to the comparatively ich, it could perhaps be justified as part of a policy of equalizing incomes. The savings of the poor, however, are also rendered less productive. The capacity of the poor to provide for old age through saving has been reduced. It will be said that old age is now provided for by social nsurance. That is, of course, true. It is equally true that voluntary hrift should be encouraged rather than discouraged. The burden of old ge is not reduced by the discouragement of thrift. It is simply shifted. Old people become dependent for their support on the community instead of upon the fruits of their own providence.

The reduction in interest rates has upset the calculations of pension funds which were established at a time when higher yields could be obtained. A good example of this is to be found in the exceedingly interesting book published by Cadbury Brothers Ltd. telling the history of the firm in the period between the two wars.[1] The yield on the pension fund gradually fell during the period in spite of the redistribution of assets from lower to higher yielding securities. Between 1921 and 1939 the percentage of assets in British government securities fell from 29·6 to 6·2 and in other gilt-edged securities from 50·7 to 24·2, while the percentage in preference shares rose from 1·7 to 12·8 and in ordinary shares from 0·3 to 7·0. The following comment is made: "A falling yield and increasing longevity are difficult problems for the trustees to face. If pensions are to be adequate in future years, it is possible that higher retirement ages will have to be considered or provision made for the part-time employment of pensioners. It may well be that the messenger boys of the future will have to be pensioners!"

This is the problem facing every pension fund, every insurance company, every building society and every bank. The maintenance of the services of these institutions depends on the possibility of reasonable yields on their assets and investments. Banks, in particular, have been adversely affected by the policy of cheap money. The redistribution of their assets in favour of short dated money market securities has gravely

[1] *Industrial Record* 1919-1939 published by Cadbury Brothers Ltd., Bournville.

impaired their earning capacity. It is generally agreed that British banking practice will have to undergo changes in consequence of the low average yields on the banks' assets. The abolition of the payment of interest on deposits and charging for many services now rendered free of charge are among the measures discussed. Costless credit is difficult to reconcile with costless current accounts.

As the title indicates, this article contains nothing but queries on cheap money. It aims at asking rather than at answering questions, at posing rather than at solving problems. It does not pretend to reach conclusions. Cheap money has been accepted as a pure gain, uncritically and unquestionably, by well-informed, by less well-informed economic opinion and by the general public. Mankind dislikes money-lenders. People generally sympathise with debtors rather than with creditors, with borrowers rather than with lenders. The anti-usury complex is very deep. On the other hand, the rate of interest has played an important part in economic progress. It has been one of the principal regulators of capitalism and cannot be artificially controlled without serious repercussions. Variations in interest rates have, in the past, proved a useful means of influencing the monetary and financial systems. To abandon a policy of variable rates for one of permanently low rates is a revolutionary step. " Fiscal policy to-day seeks to take flexibility out of the interest rate. It seeks fixity of rates rather than flexibility of rates. It seeks permanently cheap money. This is a revolutionary change in official philosophy, and the revolution has occurred in the citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism, the city of London."[1] Revolutions have a way of producing far-reaching and unforeseen results. It has been the object of this article to suggest some of the possible results of the revolution that has led to cheap money.

A policy of cheap money is an attempt at price-fixing. The fact that the commodity whose price is fixed is money should not conceal the true nature of the experiment. Experience in other fields has proved that no price can be held at an artificial level if the forces of demand and supply are allowed to operate freely. Sooner or later the natural forces will prove too strong and the fixed price will collapse. If this is to be prevented from happening, the government must interfere with conditions of demand, supply or both. This has been the lesson of every attempt to peg the exchange value of currencies at levels not justified by their internal purchasing power, or to stabilize the prices of raw materials at a level not corresponding with their cost of production. Interest is the price of loans—or, to put it more correctly, the range of interest rates is a series of prices for loans of different periods. If the rates artificially fixed are such as not to equilibrate the demand for and the supply of loanable funds, conditions of demand or supply (or both) must be controlled to

[1] *Easy Money* by Lionel D. Edie. (Yale University Press. 1937. pp. 169-70.)

ake the rates effective. The demand for loans is controlled by exchange ntrols and by capital market controls and the supply of loans by Central anking policy which saturates the market with liquid securities. If, as t the United States in the thirties, the natural forces are all in favour low interest rates, a policy of cheap money merely gives effect to nditions already existing. Even in these favourable circumstances usiness depression may persist, which proves that cheap money is no uarantee of trade revival. But cheap money will not naturally prevail a country with an adverse balance of payments and a rising national ebt. A policy of cheap money in such a country, if runaway inflation to be avoided, needs strict and far-reaching control of exchanges, capital sues, supplies and prices.

In the years following the war extensive borrowing will be necessary. f the total amount borrowed governments will borrow a smaller and rivate investors a larger proportion. As governments are the principal orrowers in the short money market, a greater proportion of loans will e long-term and the long-term rate will be the important rate to control. rom the standpoint of keeping money cheap it is irrelevant whether the orrowing is public or private. Whether the main sellers of securities re the government or private investors, the Central Bank must, in most ases, provide sufficient credit to enable the banking system to take up hatever volume of securities the public is reluctant to absorb at the tabilized level of interest rates. If the public are not given the volume f liquid assets they require, they will sell securities and interest rates ill rise. It is this necessity for the Central Bank to provide liquid assets o the degree that the public demand that creates the potential inflation hich is the chief danger of cheap money. If that potential inflation s to be prevented from becoming actual inflation, the whole machinery f wartime control of spending must be maintained. If an attempt is ade still further to reduce interest rates, the supply of liquid assets will ave to be increased, the situation will become more dangerous and the ontrols will have to be tightened. The question arises whether so much nconvenience is justified by the greatest possible result that could be btained. It is unlikely that the long interest rate could, by any policy, e reduced below $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Are the advantages to be obtained by uch a reduction worth the elaborate machinery of control necessary for ts accomplishment? Is it an intelligent proceeding to create vast uantities of liquid assets that must, at all costs, be frozen? Is society n a healthy condition when the principal aim of policy is to prevent the ublic from spending their money? It is a pity that Berkeley is not alive o-day. He would find abundant material for a new edition of *The Querist* n modern monetary developments. " If a thing be made too cheap " one an hear him ask " will not people come to regard it as of no value? "

GEORGE O'BRIEN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MC KENNA, S.J.

LXXVI

CONVENIENT FORGETFULNESS

To Aodh (+ 1274) son of Féilim son of Cathal Croibhdhearg Ó Conchobhair. The poet tells how he constantly returns to Aodh's castle under pretext of having left something behind through forgetfulness.

GIOLLA BRIGHDE MAC CON MIDHE cc

1. Dearmad do fhágbhus ag Aodh
triallam dá fhios don athtaom ;
go ceann slógh mbrógdhonn mBéirre
fóbram clódh an choischéime.

2. Mar bheirim uidhe ar m'aghaidh
's mo chúl re hÓ gConchabhair
bídh mo rún ag triall óm thoigh
siar ar mo chúl go Cruachoin.

3. Romhoch iompódh tar ar n-ais
go síothbhrugh slaite Bearnais
dá dteagmhadh mian dighe dhamh
ní bhiadh ar slighe ar siobhal.

4. Ag rígh Cairn Fhraoich na rosg mall
dearmad éigin do fhágsam
d'fhios ógbhairr Chnucha ar mo chúl
a mhucha fhóbruim iompúdh.

5. A mheince téighim dá thigh
nár liom gan adhbhar éigin
i dtigh í sheangBhloid bhinn bhuig
do dhearmaid sinn ar snáthaid.

6. An bhfeadabhair cia do chuir
an luachair as na leabthaibh
mo dhealg ann a-drochair dhíom
tall a bhfochair an airdríogh.

7. Toigheacht dá thigh an treas cuairt
gan adhbhar do badh anshuairc
do fhágbhus lámhainn lór sain
sódh ní háluinn gan fhochain.

8. As aisdear badh éasgaidh linn
ón toigh oirthearuigh d'Éirinn
sódh go bile seang Sodhain
ar cheann idhe urchomhail.

9. Dá n-ibhinn ó Aodh a-mach
ag rígh eile fíon frangcach
uisge Innse finne Fáil
millse linne ar a leathláimh.

10. Bánaidh grian gné na gcorcrach
iomdha cumann céadoltach
bláth na gcraobh ngéagdhubh as geal
céadlugh [ag] Aodh gach aigneadh.

11. Duain do-bheirim gach bliadhna
go hAodh bhfoltchas bhfinnLiamhna
mar bhearmuid leinn a luagh cruidh
duan as a heirr gá hiarraidh.

12. Cosmhail mar chuingheas mo dhán
mac Féidhlimidh flaith Iomdhán
ól fleidhe ag flaith ceann i gceann
is braith eile dá himdeall.

13. Oirbhse a Chonnachta badh cáir
sírleanmhain chloinne Colmáin
re bhur [bhfeacadh] as fearr sibh
nochan eatul gearr geimhridh.

14. Ón fhíon chorcra go a chéile
a gConnachtaibh Coirrshléibhe
céim tar ais as doiligh dhamh
do shoighidh fhéil chais Chruachan.

15. Tugadh fáth dearmaid damhsa
ag rochtuin ríogh Ceanannsa
roighne fleadh ann do ibheas
bean ná clann nír chuimhnigheas.

16. Ba fhéil Cros do-chonnarc thiar
buain agus ar ar éinrian
learg luacharbhláith lán do lacht
lámh re Cruachanráith gConnacht.

17. Do-chonnarc teagh óil Aodha
lán do chornuibh camchlaona
ní teisd mhór acht muirn bhunaidh
ól is cuirm Í Chonchubhair

18. Do leigeadh an dáileamh dhamh
ordachadh comhóil Chruachan
do badh léir dorn ós an dáil
corn Í Néill corn Í Chatháin.

19. Corn Thoirrdhealbhaigh a-tá ann
mór an dearmad nar dhéachsam
corn tug a sídh Mheadha a-mach
rug o rígh Ceara chosgrach.

20. Dá chuach óir an amlaigh gloin
mo dhearmad gan a ndéachsain
toisg nar cháir triall d'aondán ann
srian Bláir Aodhán ro fhéachsam.

21. Do badh toigheachta as mo thoigh
dhamh d'fhéachain onchon Chathoil
méad a gráine 's a goile
a háilne 's a hághmhaire.

22. Cathal Croibhdhearg leis an gcoin
rug cosgar Cathail Charraigh
mór do loit [an] tachar thiar
ler thuit Cathal san Choirrshliabh.

23. As í do síneadh re sleigh
le hAodh d'ionnsoighidh Shligigh
onchú agus gan í 'n-a coin
[lomthrú] an tí leis a dtorchair.

24. Fuaras ar slighidh Sligeach
go heasbhadhach ainibeach
gan chláirthighe gan chomhla
acht láithrighe lánfholmha.

25. Do badh mór an dearmad damh
gan leacht meic Éinri d'fheitheamh
ar sgaoil d'aolchlachaibh le fheirg
is saorChathail chaoimh Chroibhdheirg.
Dearmad.

Translation

1. Through forgetfulness I have left something behind me in Aodh's house; let r
go back again to get it; let me turn my steps again to the lord of the brown-sho
troops of Béirre.

12. When I travel forth having left Ó Conchobhair, my fancy wanders away from me back to Cruacha.

13. Very soon do I return to the elf-mound of the Wand of Bearnas ; if I find I want a drink my journey cannot proceed !

14. I have forgotten something left behind in the house of the noble-eyed Prince of Carn Fraoich ; hence the quickness with which I go back to the young Prince of Cnucha.

15. For the frequency with which I go back to his castle I am ashamed not to have some excuse ready ; I have (so I say) forgotten my needle in the castle of the pleasant generous scion of graceful Blod.

16. Do you know who turned out the rushes from the couches ? ('Twas I,) my brooch fell out of my clothes while I was with the great prince.

17. To return a third time to his house without some excuse would have been awkward ; it would not have looked well to go back without some reason ; hence I left my glove behind ; that was enough.

18. To return to get a spancel forgotten at the house of the graceful Tree of Sodhan is a journey I should find it easy to set out on from any castle in the East of Éire.

19. Were I, after leaving Aodh, to be drinking French wine with some other prince, I should remember (with regret) as being sweeter the water of fair Inis Fáil which I had drunk with Aodh.

20. The sun turns red clothes to white, and white is the blossom on dark spreading branches ; so (with Aodh) everyone's spirit is turned to love (?), many the union of love (?).

21. Each year I bring a poem to curly-headed Aodh, Prince of fair Liamhain ; when thereafter I am driving away some cattle the reward of my poem, I find him bespeaking another poem from me.

22. The son of Féidhlimidh, Prince of Iomdhán, when asking for my poetry, is like a prince constantly enjoying a banquet and being charmed by the expectation of a coming one.

23. Ye men of Connachta, ye should ever cleave to the race of Colmán ; ye will be the better for bending beneath them ; their favour is no fleeting sunbeam on a winter's day.

24. As I go from one feast of purple wine to another among the Connachta of Coirrshliabh, it is difficult for me to return to the generous curly-headed Hero of Cruacha.

25. When I visited the Prince of Ceanannas I got something to make me forgetful, namely the splendid wine-feasts I enjoyed ; (during them) I had no thought of wife or child.

26. On the Feast of the Holy Cross (14 September) I saw (being dazed with drink) harvesting and ploughing going on together, and also the hillside about the castle of Cruacha of Connachta blooming with sedge and at the same time covered with milk-kine.

27. I saw Aodh's banquet-hall with its many crooked curved drinking-horns, the wine and beer being drunk by Ó Conchobhair ; the best testimony to (the excellence of things) is a constant love for them.

28. The cup-bearer used to explain to me the arrangement of a banquet at Cruacha ; one could see there over all (Aodh's) fist (i.e. symbol of his power), Ó Néill's cup and Ó Catháin's cup (displayed as trophies).

29. The drinking-horn of Toirdhealbhach (+1266) is there too ; 'twas a pity I forgot to view it (this will serve as excuse for going back), the horn which he brought away from Síodh Meadha and took from the contentious Lord of Ceara.

30. I saw the bridle of Aodhan's Blár, but two goblets goodly of ornament I forgot to look at ; that (oversight) was something which a poetic spirit should not have committed.

21. I would always have set forth to view the wolf (on the standard) of Cathal (Croibh dhearg), so terrifying, so ravenous, so shapely, so triumphant.

22. Cathal Croibhdhearg with that hound overthrew Cathal Carrach; fatal to many man was that battle in the West at the Corrshliabh where Cathal (Carrach) fell.

23. 'Twas that wolf—not now a (peaceful) hound—which was directed by the spear o Aodh against Sligeach; the man by whom it (the standard) was pulled down wa (thereby) fated to die.

24. On my visit to Sligeach I found it starving and destroyed (?), no wood-houses in i no doors, nothing but empty ruins.

25. 'Twas a pity I forgot to look out for the tomb of the son of Henry (Butler), and th tomb of noble handsome Cathal Croibhdhearg seeing all the lime-white castles h destroyed in his wrath.

NOTES

Text is from 23 F 16, p. 169 except for forms mentioned below: I*c*. -dhuin*d*. -ruim; in ch. 2*a*. uighe *b*. ris o *c*. bi 3*cd*, i.e. " and similarl when I remember something left behind " 4*a*. fr. *c*. -bharr *d*. mu. fo 6*d*. *Leg*. a n-ochair ? 7*c*. sin 8*a*. -dior; -guigh *d*. ighe 10*a* -cr*d*. acht 11*a*. do- *abest* 12*c*. loinn 13*c*. seachadh 14*c*. -lidh; i. " but nevertheless I do return " 16*d*. laimh 18*c*. " higher by a fist than all, S. O'Grady (Cat. 352) seems less likely. 19*b*. -sain *c*. mea. *d*. cos.; reference obscure 20*d*. *Leg*. nior *for* ro ?; cf. DiD *98* 39 22*c*. a 23*d*. lomtar 24 fuair me ar sl. a sl.; IGT l.1415 *has* fuarais *b*. -ibheach; *meaning* ? *d*. lairthigh 25*b*. cf. 1248 A. Con., FM.

BICENTENARY OF JONATHAN SWIFT

1667—1745

BY PROFESSOR J. J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.

THE common touch is one of the most obvious things about Swift. He had a full and practical knowledge of the ordinary world. He new how to cut a hedge, drain a ditch, manage a bog, sail a boat—and wim if anything went wrong. He could make and do all sorts of things, id he detested the lack of plain sense which makes many people so icapable—the pedantry, pretence and folly of the bungler. The job of terature, to him, was something straightforward and no mystery; it as just putting proper words in proper places. Good manners he holds o mean no more than being at our ease and putting others at theirs; ie formalities are needless and useless, except in so far as reason dictates iem. He loved to teach such a lesson practically. When a lady, awed y the occasion of having the Dean to dinner, made a great preliminary uss about the inadequacy of her table, he took her at her word: "Nay, ia'am, since you have made no better preparation, I'll e'en go home and at a herring." Swift could be as downright in commonsense as Johnson. When Sheridan, who had learnedly annotated Persius, left an obscure vord unexplained, Swift's remark was: "Where you are ignorant, you hould confess you are ignorant." But he certainly knew more about veryday things than Johnson, who was acute but whose senses were lull; Swift would never have defined the pastern of a horse incorrectly.

Swift's grasp of the common world is seen in *Gulliver*, where it enables im, under enormous handicaps, to rival Defoe's narrative plausibility. t is in all he wrote, and no books are so stuffed with facts and things, nenhanced by poetry but alive. His common touch helped him to be he idol of the mob. He did useful jobs for them; lent them money n a business basis; controlled the weights and measures in the Liberties; levised a system of badges for beggars. The plain people could even ead his books; for, as Johnson says (with an intention of disparagement) he reader of Swift needs little previous knowledge; "it will be sufficient f he is acquainted with common words and common things." Swift ddressed the people as rational and political beings, making them in a sense his equals. In the *Drapier* he wrote their very language, rough and shrewd, and when he composed rhyming cries for the fishwives and apple-women. This zest for common life must have helped Swift in his later years; and the memory of him walking through the Liberties, not merely known to all but almost knowing all, is one of the great Dublin memories. He knew Ireland too, much of it, and the country people. His burlesques of O'Rorke's Feast, Dermot and Sheelah, etc., have ugly colours but some

true drawing; they set others observing, and pointed forward to Mari Edgeworth and the Anglo-Irish novel of country manners.

It is a short step from Swift's realism and commonsense to hi philosophy of life, based on "nature and reason". And when we say his philosophy of life, we mean at the same time his politics. For in hi view all high-flying speculation, all "originality," was folly; therefore the mind must be applied to reality, and literature must be a criticism of life in a very immediate sense. All the writing of the age was social but while a quieter temper might be satisfied with commenting apart Swift's energy and ambition impelled him to leadership and government That zest for common life contributed its urge. Nearly all Swift's work are in some way political. Some are aimed at an immediate practica effect. In others, frustrated of direct influence on affairs, he devise fictitious commonwealths to embody the ideal and satirize the actual.

It was an age of reason, and men thought that intelligence could solve and order all things. Politics to Swift seemed no mystery, for "God hath given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason where it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if left to their choice." Society's leaders should be those possessing most of this enlightenment. Late in life Swift wrote to Pope: "I have often endeavoured to establish a friendship among all men of genius, and would fain have it done; they are seldom above three or four contemporaries and if they would be united, would drive the world before them. I think it was so among the poets in the time of Augustus." Pope, too, believed in reason and persuasion as the forces that ought to govern society. The golden moment when they should at last do so seemed to have arrived in the later years of Queen Anne. For four years Swift, by his counsel in the cabinet and his ceaseless, masterly "propaganda" outside, was the great support of the Tory administration. His *Conduct of the Allies* was one of the most effective of all political pamphlets. But things went wrong; and Swift, having, by right of his abilities as it seemed, gone straight to the peak of power in England, never again had any real influence in that country. At first it must have appeared that his exclusion could not last. Political journalism had shown its immense power. Surely that meant that henceforth the wits were indispensable to the parties And could not the wits exact their price, in compelling the parties to submit to intelligence? But in truth the parties soon discovered that quantity in journalism was more important than quality; or perhaps rather that the wits provided better literary than political quality, for with the exception of Swift they were but amateur politicians. When next, at the end of the century, great literature came to sway politics, it no longer spoke with the voice of reason; it was Burke declaring that "politics ought to be adapted, not to human reason, but to human nature of which reason is but a part, and that by no means the greatest part."

This looks like a sharp contradiction. Burke decried reason in politics ; Swift believed in reason absolutely. But it was a long time from Anne and Louis XIV to George III and Louis XVI, and the sense of that word *reason* underwent a change. Burke attacks the reason of the *philosophes* and Jacobins because it is irresponsible, rapacious, a tool of the individual and his selfishness, destructive of all order ; it is reason out of hand and perverted. But Swift stood with the scholastic and humanist tradition, though near the end of it—a tradition which held reason to be, except for revelation, the highest thing in the world. Burke associated reason with the " sophisters, economists, and calculators " ; and, as we shall see, Swift agreed with him in so far as he detested their predecessors. He did not know that such people would take his weapon of reason and turn it against all it should defend—though perhaps he did more than a little to produce that result.

Reason governs in the Utopia of the Houyhnhnms, a Utopia which has striking resemblances to More's own. (We remember that Swift spoke of More as " the person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced "). " Their grand maxim is to cultivate reason and to be wholly governed by it." Reason, for all its kinship to commonsense, is a thing great enough to include virtue, and Gulliver's master tells him " That our institutions of government and law were plainly owing to our gross defects in reason, and by consequence in virtue." The passions, in Swift's view of life, are to be repressed, because they cloud reason and deform it into that curse of society, opinion. Friendship therefore takes the place of love in Houyhnhnm land, the sexes are equal, and marriage and parenthood simply eugenic. These are no fanciful speculations ; they hardly go beyond Swift's social doctrine. He saw the sovereign reason beset by another rebel scarcely less dangerous than passion, and that was intellect. This must not be licensed to range beyond the natural and the normal ; even if it lighted on nothing dangerous, as it might do, frivolity disgraces a rational creature. Swift's chief satire upon intellectualism is in the Third Book of *Gulliver*, with its academy of Lagado. There also applied science is mercilessly flayed. Two centuries have scoffed at Swift's attitude to science, but perhaps today we can forgive his attempt to strangle in its cradle what he apprehended might grow to be a monster—intellectualism interfering with nature. There was a further complication and danger ; science might ally itself with interest. That experiment of extracting concentrated sunshine from cucumbers would cease to be innocuously crazy if somebody became a millionaire out of it. Such a person already had his name, he was a " projector ". Swift hated him. He hated too the new capitalist, getting rich upon credit, and the expanding science or trade of banking. Also he hated the war-monger, and saw pretty clearly how he fitted into the whole scheme of " progress ". Worst of all was that offspring of passion and disordered

intellect which Swift would call zeal or " enthusiasm ". None did he dislike more than the man who thought himself exempted from reason by some private and direct insight. He saw this chiefly in sectarian terms as dissent, but he saw it in party divisions also, if not in its remoter shape of nationalisms.

Swift's position in regard to religion and the Church can now be fairly well understood. Christianity has shown its excellence by its fruits. It is rational to accept what is good without comprehension when plainly we are unfitted to comprehend. Apart from its mysteries Christianity is nature and reason at their best. Swift was therefore a great churchman and always held a high idea of *clergy* as a social fact working for reason and morality. Perhaps his stand on the church is the chief positive affirmation of his doctrine of reason in society, which otherwise we have seen to be chiefly negative, a clearing of the ground. But other positive proposals he did make. He had a good deal to say about education. He wanted annual parliaments, so that the landed interest might be truly represented and there might be no corruption. He entertained ideas of what would now be called social security, and there is a sort of Beveridge plan in operation among the Lilliputians. But he is ready to trust reason if that has its way, there will be no need for schemes and projects.

Mistakes are often made about Swift's work in Ireland. It was not exile in a provincial town. Swift was Irish enough, and a Dubliner *Hibernus es et in Hiberniam reverteris* one of his college friends wrote to him when he seemed to be establishing himself in the greater kingdom. Dublin, though it had yet scarcely one of the eighteenth-century buildings that were to be its glory, was easily the second city in the English-speaking world. Incidentally, it certainly was not, as has been said by one writer after another, " Protestant from the street-hawkers up to the bishops ". Swift's intervention in Irish politics, again, was no mere Tory *fronde* to make trouble for the Whigs in England. He wrote far too sincerely for that; and the mere volume of his Irish work in pamphlets, poems and monitory letters is enormous.

When Swift sought freedom for Irish trade, he was necessarily seeking to improve the lot of the Catholics who were the bulk of the population. When he attacked oppressive landlords and admonished or advised others according to the degree of their exactions, he was working directly for Catholics. But he spoke no word for Catholic emancipation or an alleviation of the Penal Laws. He would not compromise his rigid attitude to dissent; and it seems that he believed Catholicism would really disappear and leave only a social and political problem.

Swift could thus attack the complex Irish problem with a fierce simplicity. He had no sentimental patriotism, any more than he had sentimental attachments to anything else. Here as elsewhere he saw stupidity and selfishness opposed to reason and justice, but in an extreme

opposition. Ireland must recognize herself and be recognized by others as a nation. A nation must be a kingdom, and there were no half-ways; there could be no such thing as a "depending kingdom". The Anglo-Irish upper class must change their hearts; they must drop some of their "loyalty," their attachment to another country, and discover more "public spirit"—more attachment to their own. As a nation, Ireland must have ranks and orders, but cannot endure a system of ascendency, of privilege and exclusion. Swift was no colonial patriot, if by that is meant the patriot of a class; he had no notion of erecting an Anglo-Irish freedom upon native helotry. He wished, on the contrary, that all unnatural distinctions should disappear. "It would be a noble enterprise to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom"—for Irish was a badge of the conquered, an obstacle to the civilisation he desired to share. Again, when many Protestants did not, he wanted to have all Irishmen in the Established Church. There could be no nation without a national church; he wished it to be his own, though in his Will he contemplates another possibility. In sum, no narrowness of prejudice in Swift could lessen the force and universality of his principles. Certain great sentences from the Fourth *Drapier's Letter* were to change the destinies of Ireland—and of other countries as well. "By the laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, and of your Country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England." "All government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery."

Fundamental in Swift was a tremendous energy. He would row like a waterman, ride like a postboy; he was the greatest walker in London or Dublin. In early life he read feverishly; later on he despatched endless business; and his pen was never idle. The gift of repose was rarely his. He fed that hungry spirit of activity, as we have seen, upon political action and speculation. But we have to examine its other diet and to witness what might be called its cannibalism.

One of Swift's great outlets, of course, was invention. His mind was "a conjured spirit, which would do mischief if he did not give it employment". Perhaps it sometimes did mischief *when* he gave it employment, but often it delighted himself and others. This is the Swift who "laughed and shook in Rabelais' easy-chair," the wit, humourist, satirist; though I fancy him rather sitting to his table with intent and silent satisfaction. His invention is as quick and fertile as any poet's, but it is not poetry, for there is not the poetic aura, the vagueness and suggestiveness, but all is sharp and defined. Swift does not body forth the shapes of things unknown, he conjures known things into unexpected shapes.

His range is from pure fun to the strongest sarcasm. So much has been said of the profound meaning of *Gulliver*, and of its pessimism, that we almost forget it is a very entertaining book—though of course we knew that when we were children. There is many an unbarbed arrow, such

as this account of writing in Lilliput: "Their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England." Many men have amused in single jests, or struck single cuts of satire; Swift is unique in his persistence, his tireless humorous and satirical logic. One way he has, which it would take too much space to illustrate, is to make metaphor start out of metaphor, analogy out of analogy, until all things under the sun seem to be linked in the chain of his perverse but unbreakable argument. Another of his ways is to turn the eye of pure reason upon things, so that they squirm and contort into caricatures of themselves. It is a single eye, not the double one of common vision, and so it deprives the object of all solidity and relation to its surroundings. You can't deny that it *is* the thing, for all your protest against the trick you know is being played. Dealing with an abuse, he will refuse to admit its real causes, its mitigations and excuses, while ostentatiously protecting it with mere shadows of these. An excellent example is when Gulliver tries to do the King of Brobdingnag a good turn by putting him in possession of powder and guns. Swift goes on as if our civilisation had produced nothing better than gunpowder and as if wars were waged simply for the sake of destruction, and he keeps Gulliver smugly assured that nothing European can be wrong. The passage is not without topical interest:—

> I told him . . . that we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes, of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom; . . . twenty or thirty of which tubes . . . would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgement, in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.
>
> The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of those terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed how so impotent and grovelling an insect as I (these were his expressions) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation which I had painted as the common effects of those destructive machines; whereof, he said, some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver. As for himself, he protested that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more.
>
> A strange effect of narrow principles and views! That a prince possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem; of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored

›y his subjects, should, from a nice unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we ·an have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands that would have nade him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people. Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of hat excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will on this account be much essened in the opinion of an English reader; but I take this defect among them o have risen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a ·cience, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For I remember very well, n a discourse with the king, when I happened to say there were several thousand ›ooks among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary ·o my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed to ıbominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or ı minister. He confined the art of governing within very narrow bounds, to common ;ense and reason, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes, with ;ome other obvious topics which are not worth considering. And he gave it for ıis opinion that whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of nankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of ›oliticians put together.

The learning of this people is very defective, etc.

When we pass to the pessimistic and misanthropic Swift, we are on difficult ground. The critics who have persisted in clearing away all difficulties have discovered either all misanthropy or none; they have simplified Swift into a monster or a decent, ordinary fellow—neither of which can be right. To take an instance, are we to call the *Modest Proposal* ghastly or delightful?

Whoever could find out a cheap, fair, and easy method of making these children sound useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation. . . .

I have been assured, by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout. . . . . .

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require), may flay the carcase; the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies and summer boots for fine gentlemen. . . . .

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, then dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting-pigs.

How much here is beneficent purpose, to cure the Irish landlord of his cruel stupidity by pushing it to a fantastic extreme? How much is pessimism, a sense that man, whether he be the oppressor or the sordid victim, is bestial, and perverse delight in convincing others that it is so? And if we think the latter is the stronger motive, how far is the harm taken out of it by the katharsis of wit?

Nor would all agree with Thackeray about the last Book of *Gulliver*: "As for the moral, I think it horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous;

and giant and great as this Dean is, I say we should hoot him." It may be replied that the Yahoos are true ; if reason and virtue be the distinction of man and he shows them not, what is he but a beast ? Lear saw pretty nearly what Gulliver saw. And again it may be answered that the book still maintains a positive ideal, though it is embodied in other creatures and not in the animal man. But the Houyhnhnm life is no life at all, comes the objection ; to be countered by saying that no Utopia from Plato down has seemed livable. Swift himself may be allowed to decide the question. He regarded the thing as a document in misanthropy, an outpouring of his physical disgust and intellectual scorn—though his verdict still concedes something to the other side : " O, if the world had but a dozen Arbuthnots in it, I'd burn my *Travels*."

There is a sombre eloquence of pessimism in many a phrase of the Journal and the letters. " I am able to hold up my sorry head no longer." " Life is a tragedy, wherein we sit as spectators awhile, and then act our own part in it." Or again, another metaphor from the drama to express the meaninglessness, the indignity of life : " It is not a farce, it is a ridiculous tragedy, which is the worst species of composition." " Your proposal will come to nothing ; there is not virtue enough left in mankind." " I never wake without finding life a more insignificant thing than it was the day before." " I am sure my days will be few ; few and miserable they must be." Lastly, speaking of a lady, a deeply valued friend, who died young : " I hate life, when I think it exposed to such accidents ; and to see so many thousand wretches burdening the earth while such as her die, makes me think God did never intend life for a blessing."

Pessimism was in the man's original nature. " I remember," he says, " when I was a little boy I felt a great fish at the end of my line, which I drew up almost on the ground, but it dropped in, and the disappointment vexes me to this day, and I believe it was the type of all my future disappointments." Swift's boyhood and youth were not happy. He was an orphan ; he was slow to find his abilities and make his way. Even when he had become prominent, he was still unprovided and insecure. In London he was a great man by day perhaps, but rather a small one when he went back to his cheap lodging and wrote home those tender, often self-pitying pages to Stella. " The ministry all use me perfectly well, and all that know them say they love me. Yet I can count upon nothing, nor will, but upon MD's love and kindness. They think me useful ; they pretended they were afraid of none but me." Then came the great disappointment and fall.

Swift, we have noted, distrusted the intellect. But he could not curb his own. Keen in the criticism of all things, it joined with his original temper and his ill-adjustment and disappointments to make him unhappy. It enlarged folly and evil into universal principles. When that conjured spirit once got going, there was no stopping it, and its pitiless analysis

would cut away every reason for living. In the *Tale of a Tub* he set out with a limited scope, to help his own church by satirising Rome and Geneva, but the attack developed into one upon Christianity itself. Swift was a good clergyman. The prayers he wrote in Stella's last illness show him attracted by piety and seeking its aid. He was certainly nothing so simple as a secret disbeliever. But the corrosive working of his intellect must have left him very little consolation in religion.

What of Swift's anger, the *saeva indignatio*? Biographers have filled their pages with such phrases as " fierce impatience," " savagely irritable," " imperiousness," " moments of towering egotism," " intolerable arrogance," " coarse and capricious violence," " savage recklessness in sarcasm," " terrible hatred ". Perhaps these are flung too wildly. Swift was never feared by contemporaries as Pope was feared. He was a good friend, an exceedingly charitable man, and not unkind. A certain rudeness and pride came from his uncertainty of himself and his position in the earlier days. But even then, and certainly later on, he wore eccentricity as a mannerism; he knew and liked himself as a rough humourist, a " character ". The worst indictment against him is his alleged harshness to Vanessa and to Stella; but the famous " scenes " between them probably never took place at all. Scott speaks well of the " stern, haughty, and dauntless turn of his mind ". One may believe that it was upon the public affairs of Ireland, more than any other subject, that Swift was deeply angered, and for that there was justification. Certain letters paint Dantean landscapes, with Dantean anger, of famine and desolation. " Only one thing I know, that the cruel oppressions of this kingdom by England are not to be borne." That is, his indignation arose from what he himself ascribes it to in his epitaph, the cause of liberty. He would fling out too in short angry protests against his own share in this oppression, crying that his bones must be carried to Holyhead, for they could not rest in a country of slaves?

The misanthropic and the angry Swift are exaggerated in what may be called the Romantic account of him, which is still widely accepted. A later age saw in him elements of its own Rousseau and Byron, and completed the half-likeness out of its imagination. The result is not a true portrait. Where, in his writings, is the romantic Swift? Chiefly in the Journal. There he shows much tenderness, some self-pity, and there are frequent notes of nostalgia; he longs to be " back to his willows in Ireland ". " I do not say I am unhappy at all, but that everything is tasteless to me for want of being where I would be." And there is something romantic in his later attitude of the lonely giant, the Lear or Timon who stands above the world by his bitter knowledge of its evil and folly. But it is an attitude he never keeps up for very long. The romantic Swift, in truth, is chiefly the Swift of legend, as Scott gathered and perfected it. The legend is very largely untrue. The secret marriage,

the various pathetic and terrible " scenes " with Vanessa and Stella, are not authentic biography.

Swift fought against the Romantic in himself—on the whole successfully. In *Cadenus and Vanessa* we see that " romance " dissolved into reason, wit and humour. Vanessa's fate was most tragic, but it is not proved that Swift could have prevented it or was very greatly to blame. Upon Stella's death he wrote her *Character* with the deepest affection and sense of loss, but the feeling is perfectly controlled : " I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue ; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen, but then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection." A romantic might take his cue from *hair blacker than a raven* ; but he could make no use of *a little too fat.*

Here we see why the pessimistic, angry, romantic Swift is only the smaller part of the real man. He was rational—sometimes cheerfully, sometimes sternly—with himself, and he kept self-control. We see here too what was one of the means of it—friendship. His many friendships, of which that with Esther Johnson was the greatest, evinced the truth of his rational humanism. His deepest misanthropy was after all not bottomless, for the true account of it was this : " I hate the animal called man, but I love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth." His friendships ranged from the highest to the lowest ; for though he said he liked no titles but those on books, he made exceptions for more than one lord and lady ; and he had humble friends at Quilca and in the Liberties. But he preferred those of middling rank—and, later on, of middling understanding too, for he did not feel equal to making close acquaintance with another generation of wits ; his own brilliant contemporaries of Queen Anne's London were enough. In those days of power he helped every deserving man but himself ; he could say that he had placed fifty, and not one of them a relation. He kept Steele in office, though he got no thanks for it. He did his best to preserve Addison's friendship in the midst of the political feud. With the wits of those great days—Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke—he kept up a continuous correspondence as long as they all lived. His letters, written rapidly and without thought of publication, fill many volumes. They are as interesting almost as anything he wrote. Many are to women, and they disprove the judgment often repeated, that he despised the other sex.

I should like to conclude by a couple of glances at Swift late in life, seen in the true mirror of his letters ; but I have already exceeded the space allotted to me.

J. J. HOGAN

ORIGINS OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

BY REV. JOHN BRADY

WHEN St. Patrick's College, Maynooth was founded a century and a half ago, a long and bitter chapter of Irish history came to a close and a new era opened for the Church in Ireland. Did the Government of the day realize the far-reaching step it had taken when it officially removed the ban on clerical education at home and sanctioned the establishment of a national seminary for the Irish Church? Doubtless it did not, for the decision to establish Maynooth was not made in any spirit of generosity, nor was it taken to promote the growth of Catholicism. And what of the Irish Bishops? Did they appreciate the significance of what happened when the "Act for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion" became law? It is unlikely that they did: they were too near the event; but to us, who can look back, that Act was probably the most important event in the history of the Irish Church since the Reformation.

The foundation of Maynooth broke an intimate bond of contact with the continent of Europe lasting for close on two and a half centuries. That link reached back to the Reformation when the Mass became the focal point of attack. Abolition of the Mass implied abolition of the priesthood, and a determined effort was made to keep education in Ireland under State control. The Catholic reaction is one of the brightest chapters in our history. Colleges were founded in friendly lands, and in the face of superhuman difficulties a constant stream of priests returned to keep the Faith alive in Ireland. The full story of the Irish Colleges has still to be written, and only then will it be realized how much we owe to them and what the foundation of Maynooth meant.

When Elizabeth died in 1603 there were Irish Colleges at Paris, Douai, Salamanca and Lisbon. Within the next twenty years O'Sullivan Beare could mention seminaries at Compostella, Seville, Antwerp, Bordeaux and Tolouse, and his list was not exhaustive. There were also foundations at Louvain, Lille, Tournai and Alcala. Later in the century colleges were founded at Rome and Nantes. The great registration list of 1704 shows that wandering Irish students received Orders in many European countries. Angers, Avila, Cadiz, Catalonia, Coimbra, Ghent, Jacca, Leitzmeritz, Maintz, Naples, Segovia, Saragossa and Venice are some of the places mentioned.

It may well be asked: "What was the need of so many Colleges, involving heavy and unnecessary expenditure?" The fact is that many of them were founded by individuals on their own initiative and were kept in existence to cater for regional and local needs. Catholic Ireland of the 17th century lacked a sense of national unity, as the history of the Colleges on the continent shows. For example, the seminary at Lille was founded to educate students from the provinces of Leinster and

Meath; that at Bordeaux was intended for natives of Munster. Almost every house had some particular loyalty, and this was the source of endless domestic strife. In 1602 complaint was made that the College at Salamanca was governed on party lines prejudicial to students from Ulster and Connacht, and the suggestion was made that as many students should be admitted from these provinces as from Munster and Leinster. Twelve years later, a somewhat similar complaint was made against the rector of Douai by students of Ulster and Connacht, and a demand was made to have the College divided into two parts for the Irish and the Anglo-Irish students. A report on the College at Lisbon in 1634 alleged that the house was in a sinking condition through the action of the Meath Jesuits, when there were Meath superiors in Ireland, trying to usurp control by attempting to oust the Munster fathers from the seminary. The report added that from Alcala all except Ulstermen were expelled.

Conditions such as these continued for long because the government of the Colleges was centred in the hands of the local superiors together with nominees of the civil authorities of the place, and effective control by the Irish Bishops was out of the question. But it should never be forgotten that these Colleges performed magnificent service, especially when we remember the many difficulties under which they were maintained. Perhaps the greatest difficulty was the fact that the Colleges were established amongst foreigners, who, generous and sympathetic though they were, could not be expected to shoulder continually the burdens of their guests. The problem of obtaining help from Ireland was intensified by the fact that the Colleges were individual and, in a sense, rival institutions. Hence there was no co-ordination of effort and each house depended on its own friends. It is easy then to understand how money is the recurring theme in most of the records that have survived. Aid was derived from a variety of sources. Subscriptions were raised by the Irish Brigade in France. In 1615 the Holy See granted permission to fishermen of Portugal and Galicia to fish on Sundays and Holydays each year and to sell the fish thus taken for the support of the Colleges at Lisbon and Salamanca. At Lille alms were collected at the church doors; and here too the Irish students had the exclusive right of assisting at funerals, for which they received a small remuneration.

But the revenue derived from such casual sources cannot have been substantial, and the Irish Bishops were obliged to take the extreme step of ordaining candidates before they had studied philosophy or theology so that they might support themselves in college by Mass offerings. It must sometimes have happened that in this way unsuitable men were ordained; and it certainly did not ease the task of maintaining discipline. In taking this course the Bishops sought to safeguard against some of its inherent dangers by obliging such priests to take an oath to proceed to the continent without delay and to return to Ireland on the completion

f their studies. And if some of them put off the day of homecoming an we blame them? For many years it required more than ordinary eal and courage to face the dangers of the Irish mission. A vivid picture f the life of a student is given in the manuscript diary of Fr. John Kavanagh, who was born in Co. Wexford in 1749. He attended a number of hedge-chools and acquired a knowledge of the Classics with a view to becoming priest. Without previous warning, in July 1774, he received a letter rom his parish priest telling him to prepare for ordination. During the next few months he was instructed in the Office by the parish priest, nd on 23 October 1774 he received Minor Orders. Seven months later e set out for the Irish College at Nantes, where he remained until 1780. While a student here he acted as Chaplain on Sundays and Holydays nd during vacation to French families in the neighbourhood, and like everal other alumni of the College he afterwards served as Chaplain in he French navy.

The 18th century saw the Church enter a period of temporary decline. Dr. MacCaffrey attributes this set-back to the spread of Gallicanism and Jansenism, the withdrawal of ecclesiastical students from the Universities, he suppression of the Society of Jesus, the rejection of the Scholastic ystem of philosophy and the rise of Rationalism. As many of the Irish Colleges were located in France and Flanders, they were affected by the spirit of the times with disastrous consequences. It is not generally known hat there is sufficient evidence to show that, while clerical apostasy was comparatively rare during the early days of persecution, it was not uncommon during the latter half of the 18th century when persecution had ceased. The only satisfactory explanation is that the Faith of those who fell had been undermined before they returned to Ireland.

Not without reason then can the French Revolution be regarded as a blessing in disguise. In closing the Colleges in French territory it removed a source of danger to the Irish Church and presented the Government with a problem that had to be faced. In 1782 it had reluctantly removed the ban on foreign education; but now, with revolution and the fear of invasion in the air, it saw in every French-trained priest a "carrier" of disaffection. Education at home was the only solution and, were it not for the French Revolution, there would probably have been no Maynooth.

For their part, the Bishops were prepared to write-off the French Colleges as a loss and begin anew. The English traveller Topham Bowden, who visited Carlow in 1790, records the remark of Lord Carlow concerning the college then in course of erection there. "All the principal Catholics," he said, "would prefer it to a foreign college, especially as France, to which hitherto they had sent their children to preserve them from Protestantism, tainted them with deistical principles." Four years later, the Bishops set forth their reasons for abandoning the Colleges in French

territory. " The revenues," they say, " would not easily be recovered, and as the profligate principles of rebellion and atheism, propagated by the faction which now rules that Kingdom, may not be speedily effaced, they would not expose youth to the contagion of sedition and infidelity, nor their country to the danger of thus introducing the pernicious maxims of a licentious philosophy."

In August 1791 the Bishops of the province of Armagh " consulted on the means of forming schools of philosophy and divinity for the province —one for each science ". From Cashel it was announced in December following that " no plan of domestic education has been as yet established in this province. Something must be done in order to supply the loss of foreign seminaries " ; and in the same month a Dublin newspaper stated that " Athlone is the place intended for the erection of a Roman Catholic College, should liberty for such a purpose be granted by Government, on account of its very central situation. So very just and reasonable a request from the most numerous part of the Community will not be refused." The rumour was premature, and the next four years were spent in negotiating with a reluctant Government which wished to place any College that might be founded under the control of Trinity College. Eventually the difficulties were overcome, and the Bill making it legal to found and endow a College solely for Catholics received the royal assent on 5 June 1795. Towards the end of July Maynooth was selected as the site of the new establishment and before the close of the year it had 38 students. For a while the link with the continent was preserved. The first President had been educated at Seville and Paris ; four of the Professors were Frenchmen and all the other clerical members of the staff had studied on the continent. In addition, many of the students had been compelled to flee from the continent on the outbreak of the Revolution.

Fortunately the plan to open provincial Colleges did not mature. Had they been established, provincial they would have remained and their influence would probably have been confined to the dioceses for which they were founded. Maynooth, on the other hand, is known throughout the world because it is a national College with an influence that reaches far beyond the shores of Ireland. The wants of other countries have never gone unheeded. Over a century ago it was sending missionaries to Australia and India ; in our own day we have seen the ready response to the needs of China and Africa. The spirit of Armagh, Bangor, Clonard and Lismore still lives in Maynooth and, if the need arises, missionaries will go forth again in the footsteps of Columban, Fridolin and Killian bringing light to a darkened Europe. And at home, if there is a common outlook and understanding amongst the Irish clergy on the things that matter, it is due in no small way to the friendly contact between Gael and Gall during the formative years in Maynooth.

JOHN BRADY

THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL IN IRELAND

1845—1945

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

IN this year of centenaries we have commemorated the death of Thomas Davis, founder of modern Irish political thought; Newman's conversion to Catholicism and the beginning of his great mission of prophecy and intellectual liberation; and the foundation of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in this country. These three centenaries are interlocked for us in the strange providential pattern of history.

Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis's chief collaborator and principal political heir, was one of the founders of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He joined in those early meetings a representative group of Catholic Irishmen, the first fruits of the Emancipation generation: John O'Connell, the Young Liberator, John O'Hagan, and the bearers of many other well-known Dublin names whose descendants are still active members of the Society. Their first chairman was Dr. Woodlock (who later succeeded Newman as Rector of the Catholic University), then a young priest on the staff of All Hallows College. The main credit for the foundation and the first great successes of the Society in Ireland are certainly his. He remained its spiritual director until 1880, when he became Bishop of Ardagh, and thus originated the tradition by which every Conference in Ireland has a priest as spiritual director. This tradition was introduced by the Irish into the U.S.A., where it has become universal.

Frédéric Ozanam, the co-founder of the Society with Bailly, represents the young generation in France in the same way that Davis and Gavan Duffy did in Ireland. He was one of the leaders, with Lacordaire, of that party of Catholic democrats, forerunners of the modern Mouvement républicain populaire (M.R.P.), who founded *L'Ere Nouvelle* to support the cause of the Catholic Republicans in 1848. Lacordaire was elected to the assembly in that famous year; and Ozanam was an unsuccessful candidate in his native city of Lyons. His chief antagonist in the Catholic ranks, Veuillot, it is interesting to note, led a deputation to salute O'Connell on his way through Paris in 1847. Is it far-fetched to see in this strange and shortlived episode another link between Ozanam and the Society in Ireland? Certainly something of his spirit of eager freedom and faith in the ordinary man permeates the Society to this day; and the great similarity between his general political outlook and that of the Young Irelanders is no doubt due to close agreement on the intellectual presuppositions of Christian democracy.

Finally, we can trace a close similarity between the rôles played by

Newman in England and Ireland and that of Ozanam in France in the religious spheres. Both were leading figures in the university world; both defended the same unfashionable theses: the value of Catholic tradition for the free development of the human intellect in all spheres; the possibility and desirability of meeting the attacks of modern utilitarian and materialistic heresies with argument rather than simple suppression. Indeed one might say that these two great men provided, between them, a complete foundation for the great Catholic intellectual renaissance which has borne such striking fruit in France and England during the last fifty years. Newman was principally concerned with the Fathers and the early heresies on the one hand and with the development of an apologetic based on modern English philosophy on the other; while Ozanam chose the middle ages as his starting-point. His ten volumes brought before the reading public of France—then, as now, the most acutely-minded and best-informed audience in the world—the picture of an age which, in the figures of St. Francis, St. Thomas and Dante, reached heights of human excellence which have never since been equalled. His influence in France was profound and by no means limited to the devout Catholics; indeed he was frequently attacked and denounced by that group of rigid doctrinaires, headed by Veuillot, who shared with Ward in England the conviction that salvation depended on a constant supply of Papal Bulls—to be interpreted, of course, only by them. Ozanam was a man of his time who, without relinquishing or seeking to diminish the past, foresaw and welcomed the future.

If we are to understand fully the growth and development of the Society, it is essential to see Ozanam in his true historical perspective and to appreciate what it was in him which gave to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul its elasticity of approach to social problems, its deep reverence for tradition and its insistence on charity on the spiritual even more than on the material plane. These central themes in the vital activity of the Society come to us undoubtedly from him and from the group of young men who caught something of his spirit. There is a true anecdote told of Ozanam which shows us the kind of man he was as a youth and illustrates very well his qualities of courage and fearless defence of the truth as he saw it combined with respect for authority.

His experience in the Sorbonne as a student convinced Ozanam that there was a great need for a new type of Catholic apologetics. He therefore decided to see the Archbishop of Paris and to suggest to him that he should entrust the task to the Abbé Lacordaire, who was at that date living in retirement and partial disgrace after the condemnation of the paper *L'Avenir* which he had assisted de la Mennais to edit. Monsignor de Quélen was, by all accounts, a saintly but prudent and conservative ecclesiastic. His house had recently been burnt by the mob during the revolution of 1830, and this wanton outrage had not operated to alter his

onservative tendencies. Ozanam was a democrat whose father had taken n active part in the French Revolution, though he had always preserved . decent moderation in his dealings with " aristocrats ". Ozanam however resented himself with his close friends, Lallier and Lamache, both tudents like himself ; they were received very kindly by His Grace, to whom they put their petition with such intelligent conviction that Monsignor de Quélen agreed to start a series of lectures from the pulpit of Notre Dame. This task he entrusted to a group of distinguished preachers, one of whom was Monsignor Dupanloup, afterwards Bishop of Orléans and famous for his successful conversion of Talleyrand. Ozanam declared himself satisfied with the concession and organised groups of students to attend the lectures ; but he warned Monsignor Quélen that the preachers chosen were unequal to this very difficult task and that only Lacordaire could do it. After the first year the Archbishop gave in, agreed that Ozanam was right, and appointed Lacordaire—who was, of course, supremely successful.

That was in 1833 ; in the same year the first Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul began to meet in Paris under the Presidency of Monsieur Bailly who had a long experience of practical Christian charity. The story of those first beginnings, under the tutelage of Soeur Rosalie, has been told so well and so often that it is not necessary to retell it. It will suffice to say that by the early forties the Society had spread throughout France, that it was particularly strong in the École Normale, the principal college attached to the Sorbonne, and that the fundamental rules and principles had been firmly established. The most important principles are that the main object of the Society is the spiritual good of the members to be achieved by the practice of charity. The charity which the Society sets out, in all humility, to practise is supernatural charity which binds men together in the life of Christ. " Caritas Christi urget nos " is the Society's motto, and His Holiness Pope Pius XI publicly used those words for the first time to describe the true spirit of the Society. It is worth noting that this outlook differs widely from that of the Charity Organization Society in England, which has since the middle of the last century done so much to organise charity in England. The practical results achieved may in most cases be the same as far as material assistance and social rehabilitation is concerned ; but the Vincentian visitor will feel that his work is less than half done unless he has succeeded in establishing a spiritual relationship with the family he visits. This of course does not mean, indeed must not mean if he observes the Rule, that the visitor seeks to convert the family if they belong to another Communion. But it does mean that he must make a real effort so to penetrate himself with the Charity of Christ that he will really see Christ in the poor family which he is privileged to assist : no more and no less than that is the ideal set before him.

This leads to the inevitable corollary which is embodied in the phrases : " No work of charity is foreign to the spirit of the Society " ; and to that great saying of Ozanam's : " I have come to the conclusion that one should never bother about money in matters concerning charitable projects ; it always turns up." These are the simple rules of supernatural prudence, which differ widely from those which govern the financial practice of the world. After Charity comes Humility, which finds its expression in a free acknowledgment of the superior wisdom in spiritual matters of the Hierarchy and clergy, and in the practice of anonymity. Then comes Patience, which accepts apparent failure to achieve even that " little good " which Ozanam declared to be our aim—a Patience which brings the visitor to the same family every week in the confident hope that, if one does what one can, God will do the rest in His own way and time.

Such was the Society already firmly constituted which came to Ireland in 1845. It was hardly founded before the famine broke ; and the five existing Conferences in Dublin, founded in 1845, with those of Cork and Waterford, founded in 1846, threw all they had and everything which came to them from France and England into the task of rescuing the people from famine. They could not do otherwise ; but the extreme pre-occupation with the material needs of the starving people left a mark on the Society's activity which was not altogether healthy. Nevertheless the Society spread rapidly, and the first twenty years were a time of steady and on the whole healthy development. A few special works were developed : schools for the very poor in some towns ; the Orphanage, now in Glasnevin, which has to its credit almost a century of fruitful work ; and in the west around Oughterard most valuable resistance to the proselytism which arose out of the interested relief work of a Protestant Mission Society during and after the Famine. During these years the tradition was firmly established in our great cities that the Vincent de Paul Brother can go anywhere and be sure of receiving a welcome. This first period is also marked by five collections for the relief of distress in foreign countries overtaken by some national calamity. This sense of international unity was, and is still, strong in the Society.

This prosperous period ended in or about the time that Dr. Woodlock was elevated to the See of Ardagh. Thereafter, until the turn of the century, the Society appears to have failed to attract young men, who have always been essential to its healthy life. It is probable that the main reason for this relative decline lay in the pre-occupation of the youth of Ireland with the political campaigns of the Parnellite movement and the Land League. However that may be, the Silver Jubilee in 1895, which was celebrated by the erection of a chapel in the Orphanage, inaugurated a period of rapid growth which has continued to this day. Statistics are of minor importance in the history of a Society which is concerned primarily with things of the spirit. But it is perhaps worth recording that

he number of active members has increased from 2,460 in 1895 to well over 7,000 to-day.

A much more important index of the vigorous growth during the half century is the rapid development of special works, ranging from night shelters and secretariats for the poor to boys clubs and the Sunshine Home. Each of these special works is based on and continuous with the primary work of weekly home visitation, which is the only task incumbent on every active member. Even more satisfactory is the rapid growth of Juvenile Conferences which followed on the appeal made by the Hierarchy in 1900. These juvenile Conferences formed in the secondary schools provide a constant flow of recruits into the city Conferences. Another sign that the spiritual aims of the Society are not forgotten is the growing tendency to organise enclosed retreats or, where this is not possible, retreats lasting one or more days in the city churches for the members of several Conferences. The finances of the Society have fulfilled Ozanam's prophecy with exactness. As the expenses mount, so do the receipts; and, up to the present, annual net receipts have always outrun expenses by a narrow margin. This is not at all due to prudence or saving against a rainy day. On the contrary, the practice of the Society is to spend what they receive when it comes and trust to God for tomorrow's supply.

All this growth has of course meant a considerable strain on the organization, and it is one of the most striking proofs of the wisdom of the founders that the structure of the Society has proved so far, under God's providence, fully adequate. The unit is the Conference, which is associated with a parish; in a large city parish there may be as many as seven Conferences, which may then form a loose confederation. The administrative business of the Conference is conducted by the President, assisted by a board appointed by him and consisting of Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer; in Ireland the spiritual director is ex-officio a member of the board. The President is elected by the members unless a Regional Council exists, in which case the President is appointed by that body after consultation with the members. The President has no fixed term of office. The expenses of this unit do not usually amount to more than a fraction per cent. of the money received. A percentage of the receipts, which varies widely, goes into a common pool which is shared by the Regional Council and the Central Council. Upon these bodies falls the burden of general administration, re-distribution of central funds to poorer areas, collecting and auditing the returns of work done and money received and disbursed. The Central Council, which incidentally functions in Belfast with the same ease as in Cork, arranges a yearly meeting of Presidents which affords an opportunity to discuss the affairs of the Society. It publishes a Bulletin under the authority of the Council General in Paris for circulation amongst the Conferences of the English-speaking World. This Bulletin is the main link between France

and countries outside Europe. Similarly the Irish Council has been entrusted by the Council General with the translation into English of the French Manual and with its general distribution. This Manual should be placed in the hands of every brother when he joins the Conference that he may learn over the years the traditions of the Society as set forth in the Rule and in the addresses of successive Presidents. The President General, who is always a Frenchman, is elected by the French Council after a period of intercessionary prayer in which the whole Society joins. The President of every national Council is ex-officio a member of the Council General. Finally the Society, in virtue of a privilege granted by His Holiness Pius IX in 1851, is placed under a Cardinal Protector resident in Rome. The present Pope, His Holiness Pius XII, was Cardinal Protector until his elevation to the Papacy.

One of the most remarkable points in the Rule of the Society is the complete absence of any powers of compulsion. No one has any power, expressed or implied, to order anyone else to do or refrain from doing anything. All that the highest or lowest in the Society can do is to invoke the Rule and the traditions and persuade any member who may be neglecting them to mend his ways. The only thing that one can say about this freedom from fear on the heroic scale is that it works. It cannot, of course, be claimed that it always and everywhere ensures perfection. That would be absurd. But it does succeed in preserving a reasonably high standard and a very high degree of friendly harmony. One danger besets all lay societies whose task is good works, the danger of self-satisfaction, which may so easily degenerate into hypocrisy. The Society has always been alive to this danger and reacts vigorously to the first signs of complacency. Anyone who has had experience of a good Conference will be impressed by the simplicity and complete absence of smugness which mark its friendly and generally jovial meetings. This short sketch will give a very imperfect impression of the Society to the non-member. The life of a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul can only be understood fully from the inside ; it is only too easily misunderstood by the onlooker.

The second century opens and, now that the celebrations are over, the Society faces a future which bristles with difficulties—difficulties it will face without dread, but with a very clear realization that its task will become harder not easier as time goes on. The growth of Social Services, with the increasing tendency to centralize administration under the control of the State, makes the position of a voluntary organization one of considerable delicacy. The relations between the members and the poor families entrusted to their care are highly confidential. Yet it is obviously desirable that relations with the Public Authorities administering relief should be as cordial as possible. A good deal of tact and mutual trust is necessary to make this possible. That this has always been forthcoming in Ireland is due, in large part, to the excellent traditions

of our civil and municipal services and of course to the fact that there is no governmental prejudice against Catholic social work in Ireland, North or South. It is indeed an interesting commentary on the position of Catholics in Northern Ireland that they should enjoy full freedom and much useful co-operation in this sphere. But in other countries this happy mutual toleration has not always been maintained. The Society was suppressed in France by Napoleon III ; in Spain, in Mexico, and in Central Europe its activity was restricted to a minimum. But it is comforting to reflect that the Society survived Napoleon and has survived also the tyrannical régimes in many other countries. Nevertheless, even if they can look forward with reasonable confidence to continued tolerance and goodwill in Ireland, yet there still remains the difficulty of preserving the work of weekly visitation in a world which tends more and more to regard charity as an outworn and insulting activity, and which insists on social security administered justly and efficiently by well-trained public servants.

Against this awe-inspiring project of freedom from want we can set the certainty that there will always be those who are the " poor in spirit " of whom Christ spoke. It will still be open to the St. Vincent de Paul Brother to bring consolation and friendship to lonely and inadequate souls who need spiritual sustenance which no Government Department will ever be able to supply.

Perhaps indeed the efficiency which is promised in the new world of tomorrow may prove a great blessing to the Society whose principal aims are spiritual ; and in the last resort the Society will, if it remains true to itself, always fulfil the task which Ozanam laid down : " May the Society of which we are part, in the midst of the rival schools of philosophy and politics that divide allegiances and trouble hearts, become one big school where the questions agitating the world will not be dealt with, and where those who were recently at strife shall meet to know and love one another. Where there shall be but one thing to learn, a thing that is intelligible, acceptable, conciliating all ; an admirable simple thing, which is none-the-less infinite and eternal as the God from whom it comes ; I mean Charity."

T. W. T. Dillon

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XVI

O'Neil, Gordon, soldier. Son of Sir Phelim O'Neil of Kinard, Co. Tyrone, by Lady Joana Gordon. He was colonel of the O'Neil regiment in the Jacobite war, on the conclusion of which he went to France in 1691. The name of that corps was changed to that of Charlemont after a few years, and at its head he fought against Germany in the campaign terminated by the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In February of the following year it became the regiment of Galmoy, to which he was attached as a supernumerary colonel. Soon afterwards he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and he died at Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1704. In the MSS. of the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, there is a poem in Irish addressed to him by Diarmuid Mac-Muiredhaigh.

A relative of the same name—Gordon O'Neil the younger—belonging to the Clanaboy branch of the family went to France as an ensign in O'Brien's regiment of Lord Mountcashel's Brigade in 1690. He went through the campaigns in Italy in 1692 and those of Germany in 1695 as captain in Lee's regiment. He subsequently fought at Blenheim in 1704 and in other battles in Flanders, and died in January 1725.

O'Neil, John, soldier. Born at Derrynoose, Co. Armagh, on 20 January 1737, he was a descendant of the preceding and a son of Turlough O'Neil and Mabel O'Reilly. Going to Paris, where his cousin was principal of the Irish College, he was educated at the Collège des Plessis and in 1753 joined Clare's Irish regiment as a cadet. He fought in the Seven Years War from 1759 to 1762, and in 1776 was appointed captain-commandant of Walsh's regiment. Three years later he was created a Chevalier of Saint Louis for bravery. With the French expeditionary force he went through the American War of Independence, in which he fought in three naval engagements against Admiral Rodney; he was also present at the reduction of the three West India islands of Tobago, Saint Eustache and Saint Christopher. Returning to France in 1792 after the outbreak of the Revolution, he fought in its six campaigns till 1798 against the allied forces of monarchic Europe. He retired on pension in 1799 and died at Paris in March 1811. Myles Byrne, with whom he was acquainted, wrote of him in his "Memoirs": "In the solitary walks I was accustomed to take in 1803 in the garden of the Luxembourg I frequently met the last commander of Walsh's regiment, O'Neil; he had the rank of general of brigade and was 'en retraite'. He was a small

ıan, rather handsome, with fine features and nearly 80 years old. He ad the reputation of being a just chief, though a severe disciplinarian. 'hough proud and haughty as one of the descendants of the great O'Neil f the North, still he was much liked by his officers."

O'NERY, TIMOTHY, ecclesiastic. Born in 1760 at Kildare, he was ducated and ordained as a priest at the Irish college in Nantes; he was ıter appointed curé of the parish of St. Philibert du Pont Charrault in ıe diocese of Nantes. After the outbreak of the Revolution, whose cause e espoused, he took the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, ecame a constitutional priest and, at the head of his parishioners, took n active part against the royalist insurgents in the Vendean war. He was ıken prisoner at the battle of Chantonnay in September 1793, but escaped om gaol. Despite his attachment to the principles of the Revolution, e was subsequently placed under arrest as a foreigner by the republican uthorities and was imprisoned till September 1794. Soon after the rrival of the pro-consul Laignelot at Fontennay O'Nery presented him ith a petition claiming release. He stated in it that, from the moment ıe Vendean insurrection began, he had headed the inhabitants of his ommune and had fought as a soldier of freedom against " the infamous rigands who desolated and still desolate the soil of the Republic "; nd he claimed the right of citizenship because he had lived for thirteen ears in France, had propagated the principles of liberty and equality nd had preferred the land of liberty to his native land. He was however etained in prison for a considerable period, but was subsequently restored o his parish.

A number of other Irish priests, functioning in the same quarter of Brittany at the time, underwent many vicissitudes though they took the ath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Among them were the bbé O'Brien of Nesmy, the abbé John O'Kelly of Nalliers, the abbé O'Hara of Bourg-sous-la-Roche and the abbé Henry O'Kane of Saint Hermand (*see* O'KANE, HENRY).

O'QUELY, MALACHY, ecclesiastic. Son of Donat O'Quely, he was born in Corcomroe, Co. Clare, in the last decade of the sixteenth century nd went for his education in 1612 to the Collège de Navarre at Paris, vhere he became a doctor of divinity of the Sorbonne. After a distinguished ourse of studies he was appointed professor of theology at the college f Boncour, and after some years was consecrated archbishop of Tuam. He was one of the first members of the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny and was killed at the battle of Clare near Sligo on 25 October 1645. On receiving news of his death the University of Paris elebrated a funeral office " for the happy repose of an Irishman, Doctor nd Fellow of Navarre, who fell by the swords of unjust men ".

O'Quinn, Patrick, avocat and journalist. Born at Pau on 21 February 1821 of an Irish family settled in south-western France. A Rue O'Quinn in Bordeaux tells of the former importance of the O'Quinns in that city, whose municipal archives for the year 1760 contain the name of John Valentine O'Quinn among its merchants; and in 1789 Patrick O'Quinn is officially listed among its leading citizens and, in 1793 at the height of the Revolution, is described as " commissaire du Conseil Général de la Commune ".

Patrick O'Quinn of Pau was conductor for a considerable period of the journal entitled " Mémorial des Pyrenées ". In 1852 he was a member of the General Council for the district of Pau, and in 1860 was elected mayor of the town. In 1852, too, he had been chosen representative of the Basses-Pyrenées in the Chamber of Deputies. He published several brochures bearing on political economy and was created an officer of the Legion of Honour. He resigned his office of deputy in 1867 and died in 1872. Besides the brochures mentioned above, he was author of " Chemin de fer de France en Espagne " (Pau 1856) and " Des chemins de fer pyrenéens " (Pau 1853). A descendant and namesake—l'abbé Patrice O'Quinn—who died at Pau some years ago, was author of " Fleurs de Terre Sainte—impressions et souvenirs " (Paris 1912).

O'Reilly, Edmund " Buidhe," soldier. Born at Ballynacargy Castle Co. Cavan. After his father's death in 1655 he was recognised as chief of the house of his name. Subsequent to the Cromwellian confiscations he went into the French army in the King's Life-Guards and returned to Ireland in 1689 with James II, who appointed him governor of Cavan. At the head of a regiment of his retainers and kinsmen he fought in the Jacobite War, at the end of which he retired with them to France, where he died in 1693. By his wife, Joan O'Farrell of Longford, he had three sons, all of whom entered the French army and gave long service to their adopted country. A grandson, Edmund, born in 1722 at Huninguen, became a colonel in Dillon's regiment, a knight of Saint Louis and was the last chief of the branch of his family in France. He retired from active service in 1773 and was living in Paris at the beginning of the Revolution. With his death soon afterwards the branch of Brefny O'Reilly became extinct.

O'Reilly (Reilly), Hugh, lawyer. Born at Lara, Co. Cavan, he became Master in Chancery in Ireland under James II. After the Jacobite defeat he went to France, where at Saint Germain-en-Laye he was nominated Chancellor of James II in Ireland. In 1693 he published " Ireland's Case briefly stated " in which the ingratitude and injustice of Charles the Second's dealings with Irish Catholics were commented on. James II, too, was criticised, and that king was so offended that

ıe dismissed the author from the office of Chancellor. This action so ffected O'Reilly that he died soon afterwards (1694).

O'Reilly, Patrice John, ecclesiastic. Born in the parish of Annaghliffe, Co. Cavan, *circa* 1700. Emigrating to France for his education, ıe studied at Bordeaux where he settled after his ordination to the priesthood. He took a prominent part in the civil and ecclesiastical life of that city. A member of many learned societies throughout France, he held degrees from several universities. He was author of many publications, ncluding " Essai sur l'histoire de la ville de Bazas " (1840), " Histoire le Verdelais " (1844) and " Histoire complète de Bordeaux " (2 vols. 1857), which was his greatest work.

Another Irishman of the name, who was an English language master at Paris in the mid-eighteenth century, was author of " Dictionnaire de la prononciation anglaise " (Paris 1756) and " L'Heureux Divorce," comédie en deux actes (Paris 1767).

O'Reilly, Robert Mary, manufacturer and journalist. A prominent resident of Paris at the Revolutionary period, he took a leading part in the meetings of the Irish sympathisers with the new régime in France. He was a signatory of the famous congratulatory address sent by them in November 1792 to the National Convention, and he was secretary of the deputation that presented it to that body. He was a member of the Academy of Boulogne, of the Lycée des Arts of Paris and of several other learned bodies. He pursued for some time a military career and was, it is said, a particular favourite of Napoleon in consequence of his suggesting a new plan of gun vessels for transporting an invading army to England and Ireland. After retiring from the army he became proprietor of pottery works at Creil near Paris. In 1800 he founded in the French capital a periodical devoted to technology entitled " Journal des arts et manufactures " ; and he was author of " Essai sur la blanchiment avec la description de la nouvelle méthode de blanchir par la Vapeur " (Paris 1801). An English acquaintance of his in Paris, Henry Redhead Yorke, wrote of him in " Letters from France " : " From the year 1792 up to the present hour O'Reilly has been ceaselessly engaged in plots against England, and his hatred increases daily against our country, to whose genial soil he knows he can never return. He has fought against England in the French armies and glories in the fact."

O'Reilly, Terence, soldier. Born in Dublin on 4 November 1783. He joined the Irish Legion in France in 1804 and went through the Napoleonic campaigns, after which he was promoted to the rank of captain. In the Walcheren campaign and especially at the siege of Flushing (Flessingue) in 1809 he distinguished himself under his fellow-countryman

General Lawless (*See* LAWLESS, WILLIAM) against an English force under Lord Chatham. For his valour he was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honour. (His sword, which is now in the National Museum, Dublin, has the name " Flessingue " &c inscribed on it). In March 1814 he was raised to the rank of chef de bataillon in the 101st regiment of the line. After Napoleon's return to France from Elba, O'Reilly was aide-de-camp to General Loison at Ligny, Quatre-Bras and Waterloo. He was also at the defence of Chalons and an officer in " The Army of the Loire "—the last force that remained faithful to Napoleon. As a strong Bonapartist he retired on half-pay with the second restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 and, retiring to Evreux, ended his days in that town.

O'ROURKE, EUGENE (OWEN), soldier. Son of Con O'Rourke of Carha, Co. Leitrim and Dorothy O'Connor (daughter of Bryan O'Connor, Sligo). At the end of the Jacobite campaign in Ireland he followed James II to France and fought for his adopted country in the war against allied Europe till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. His regiment was then disbanded, and he entered the service of the Duke of Lorraine as major of the royal bodyguard and as gentleman of the bedchamber. In 1716 James III sent him to make overtures to the Elector Palatine for the hand of a princess of the latter's family. The negotiations failed, the Elector Palatine having written to O'Rourke declining the match on the ground that it was necessary for him to preserve the goodwill of England. In 1727 James III appointed O'Reilly to be his minister plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, and conferred on him the title of Baron of Carha and Viscount of Breffny. He died in 1723.

Several of his kinsmen went with him to France in 1691. Colonel Tiernan O'Reilly acquired distinction in the French army and was killed at the battle of Luzzara in 1702. His widow, Countess O'Rourke, was a lady-in-waiting at the court of James III in Saint Germain-en-Laye. After her husband's death at Luzzara, she was invited by her son-in-law, Denis O'Conor the Irish antiquary, to return to Ireland where she resided till her death in 1760.

O'ROURKE, JOHN (COUNT), soldier. Eldest son of Brian O'Rourke of Cloncorick. Born at Woodfort, Co. Leitrim, in the first decade of the eighteenth century. In his twentieth year he went to France, where he presented a petition to Louis XV at Versailles detailing his princely origin and praying for a regimental appointment. He received a commission in the Royal Scotch regiment of the French army and served in it till 1758. Some fellow-officers resented what they considered the favouritism shown to a foreigner, as a consequence of which O'Toole fought several duels with them. He resigned his commission, and Louis XV gave him

strong recommendation to the Russian court, which appointed him major in the Czar's regiment of bodyguards. He fought in the Russian forces in the war against Prussia, in which he particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Berlin. At the end of hostilities he was presented to Frederick the Great, who made him the gift of a diamond-studded sword. Later he returned to France where he was appointed a colonel of cavalry, was created a count and invested with the Order of Saint Louis. He resided for some time in Rouen where Hamilton Rowan, the United Irish leader, also resided as a young man. The latter in his Autobiography tells an amusing story about O'Rourke, with whom he was on friendly terms: "Count O'Rourke was suing the Duchess de Cresne for the amount of several of her notes of hand. He was called on to prove what value he had given for them. Among a list of various presents to her, he inserted a phaeton and a pair of poneys. In his plaidoyer he called himself Prince of Breffni, &c., &c. The gentleman who defended the Duchess played so successfully on this petition of the Irish prince against the Duchess de Cresne as to raise great mirth in the court, and so exasperated the Count that he started up on the advocates' table and seized the lawyer by the nose. All became confusion, and O'Rourke was committed to prison—from which, however, Louis XVI almost immediately released him."

Count O'Rourke died in Russia in 1786. An interesting collection of letters and documents relating to Count O'Rourke and other members of his family was discovered in the Public Record Office at Vienna a few years ago.

O'ROURKE, MANUS, ecclesiastic. Born in 1660 at Clashmore, Co. Waterford. Educated at Paris, he was after his ordination as a priest a well-known figure in the Jacobite court at Saint Germain-en-Laye, which became the home of a considerable number of Irish exiles. Among these was Dr. Matthew Kennedy (*see* KENNEDY, MATTHEW), between whom and Father O'Rourke there was much friendly rivalry regarding their individual proficiency in the Irish language. Like Dr. Kennedy, Father O'Rourke composed verses in the native tongue which he often recited at gatherings of Irish officers and their families at the court in Saint Germain. Among these he mentions the names of Colonel O'Rourke of Breffny, Colonel O'Ronan and his wife, and Captain Ivers with his wife, Eileen MacCarthy Reagh. Dr. Patrick Pierce, the expatriated bishop of Waterford, whom he extols in one of his poems, was also at times one of the company. From 1720 to 1741 Father O'Rourke was curé of the parish of Branles (department of Seine-et-Marne) where he died at a round old age. A collection of his verses and papers is in the library of the Franciscan Friary, Merchant's Quay, Dublin.

O'Ryan, John Baptist, ecclesiastic. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 he was curé of Loix in the department of Lower Charente. Refusing to take the oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791, he was numbered among the " refractory " priests of the time. He was arrested later and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Bordeaux on the charge of being an enemy of the Republic. He was guillotined on 4 February 1794.

O'Shaughnessy, William (Guillaume D'Oshagnussi), soldier. Born in 1675. Son of Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gort, Co. Galway, and Helen O'Brien, daughter of 3rd Viscount Clare. In his boyhood he served as captain in the Irish Jacobite army and in 1690 went to France in O'Brien's regiment of Mountcashel's Brigade. By the death of his father a few months later he became head of the illustrious family of his name. With his regiment he went through the campaign in Italy in the French forces till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, being present at the battle of Marsaglia in 1693, at the siege of Valenza in 1696 and at other engagements. He later fought in Flanders at the chief battles of the War of the Spanish Succession, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. After the death of Major John O'Carroll at Ramillies he became major of Clare's Irish regiment and its lieutenant-colonel a few months later. At the subsequent campaigns in Germany his valour raised him to the rank of brigadier-general, and gained him further promotion to the rank of marechal-de-camp in 1735 in the Army of the Rhine. Sent subsequently to Flanders he was in 1743 appointed commander of Gravelines. In that town he died in his seventieth year on 2 January 1744, being then the oldest major in the French service. After his death his cousin Colman O'Shaughnessy, bishop of Ossory, tried but failed to recover the ancestral property in Ireland.

O'Shee (Shee), Eugene Bernard, soldier. Born at Rathduff, Co. Kilkenny, on 29 March 1775, he was son of Henry and Susan Nichols. In 1782 he left Ireland for France where he lived under the tutelage of his relative, Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre (*see* Clarke, Henry), and at the age of sixteen became a cadet in Berwick's Irish regiment. He went through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns, and in 1809 was promoted to the rank of colonel in the 13th regiment of chasseurs. For his distinguished services he was created baron by Napoleon and, after the restoration of the Bourbons, was made general of brigade. During the Napoleonic war in Spain he had taken prisoner the Marquis of Anglesea, whom he treated so courteously that a life-long friendship was established between them. Twenty years later, during the debates on the Catholic question in Ireland, the Marquis, who was then lord lieutenant

f the country, referred to O'Shee and his gallantry as a reason for throwing pen the highest posts in the British army to Irishmen.

Baron O'Shee died at Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1839. His brother William, a captain in Dillon's regiment in the French service, left France n the early years of the Revolution and entered the English army. He as killed by a brother officer, Captain Stack, in Jamaica in 1797.

O'Shee (Shee), Henry (Count and Peer of France), soldier and dministrator. He was born at Landrecies in north-eastern France on January 1739. Son of William O'Shee, captain in Clare's Irish regiment, y Marie Peponier. He was uncle of Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre, Napoleon's war minister, whose father, Thomas Clarke, colonel in Dillon's egiment, was married to Louisa O'Shee of Landrecies.

Henry O'Shee entered Clare's Irish regiment as a cadet in 1755 and vent through the Seven Years War, in which he acquired distinction at Marburg in 1761. By 1785 he was colonel of the cavalry regiment belonging to the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Égalite), the king's brother, o whom, for some time previous to the Revolution, he was military ecretary. A supporter of the Revolution, he retired from the army in 791 owing to ill health, but resumed active service in 1795 when he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade. As such he accompanied he Hoche expedition to Ireland in December 1796, and an intimate riendship was established between him and Wolfe Tone who refers to im frequently in his " Journal ". After his return from this expedition e was transferred from military to civil duty and became, in 1801, prefect f the Lower Rhine (province of Bas-Rhin) with his headquarters at Strasbourg. In that function he took an important part in the trial and xecution of the Duke of Enghien in 1804. At the institution of the Legion of Honour he was decorated with the Cross of that Order, and n 1809 was created a count by Napoleon and a senator in 1810. Like is nephew, the Duke of Feltre, he sided against Napoleon and supported he restoration of the Bourbons. Louis XVIII created him a peer of France in June 1814, after which he took little interest in public affairs and died on 3 March 1820. His only daughter married Jacques Wulfran, Baron Dalton, and from this union was born Count Dalton Shee (*See* Dalton-Shee).

O'Shee (Shee), Richard, soldier. Cousin of preceding. Born on 13 May 1740 at Castletown, Co. Kilkenny. Son of Marcus O'Shee of Sheestown, Co. Kilkenny, by Thomasina Masterson of Castletown in the same county. Emigrating to France he became in his sixteenth year a cadet in FitzJames's Irish cavalry regiment, from which he passed into Berwick's in 1763 and became lieutenant in that of Roscommon in 1768. In the Legion of Artois he went to the Ile de France in 1788 as captain

of grenadiers and returned to France in 1791. Favouring the Revolutionary cause, he was appointed colonel of the 87th regiment (formerly Dillon's) in 1792 and was raised to the rank of general of brigade in 1796. In the autumn of that year, while preparations were being made for the Hoche expedition to Ireland, a letter from Carnot to the Minister of War suggested sending O'Shee as an emissary to Ireland. The letter added that he should not be confounded with Robert O'Shee (*See* following) whose character, Carnot wrote, was at least dubious and who had not a high reputation in Paris. Richard O'Shee became commandant in Finistère in 1799 and, retiring on half-pay in 1800, died on 31 January of the following year.

O'Shee (Shee), Robert Richard (Count), soldier. Relative of preceding. Son of Richard O'Shee by Elizabeth Grace of Gracefield, Co. Kilkenny. Born at Cloran in the parish of Cloneen, Co. Tipperary, on 24 December 1736. As a cadet in Bulkeley's Irish regiment he entered the French service in 1752. He took part in the Seven Years War, and his regiment in 1759 was with the other corps of the Irish Brigade mobilised in Brittany for the invasion of Ireland. The disaster to the French fleet at Quiberon Bay ended the project. From 1760 to 1763 he was in Germany in the last stages of the Seven Years War, at the termination of which he was promoted to the rank of Captain. In 1775 he passed into Dillon's regiment, was created a chevalier of Saint Louis a little later and, in the year before the Revolution, was aide-de-camp to Marshal Broglie. At the attack on the Bastille in July 1789 he was commander of the National Guard, and in 1792 as chef de bataillon in the 87th regiment (formerly Dillon's) went through the Ardennes campaign, and four years later was commandant on half-pay at the École Militaire. He died at Paris on 5 December 1806 in his seventieth year. He was twice married, his second wife being a daughter of Sir Patrick Bellew.

A kinsman and namesake, Robert O'Shee, was a captain in FitzJames's cavalry regiment in the French service. As commander of 130 men of that corps he went to Scotland in 1746 to assist Prince Charles Edward—they formed the Prince's bodyguard at Culloden. After that battle O'Shee was captured and, after release as a prisoner of war, returned to France.

O'Shiel, Luke, merchant. Son of Neil O'Shiel, who was attainted after the Jacobite War in Ireland and settled in Nantes as a merchant. Luke, who followed his father's occupation, became one of the leading citizens of that city. He was consul there from 1722 to 1724 and acted as agent for John Law in the latter's financial schemes in France. He married a fellowcountrywoman, Anastase Galway, by whom he had a daughter who married Antony Walsh of Nantes (*See* Walsh, Antony), one of the " seven men of Moidart " who was knighted for his services

in the 'Forty-Five. Luke O'Shiel was, by letters-patent, admitted into the ranks of the French nobility in 1755. He was succeeded by his son and namesake, who played a prominent part in the civic life of Nantes in the second half of the eighteenth century. The latter's daughter, Anne, was in 1793 one of the victims of the " noyades " or drownings carried out during Carrier's reign of frightfulness at Nantes.

A branch of the family was established at Paris, where Dr. Owen O'Shiel was physician to Louis XIV and where Manus O'Shiel was apothecary at the court of Saint Germain-en-Laye in the last decade of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century. Another branch settled in the French island of Saint Domingo and were recognised among its noble families. Two of its members, Bernard and Peter, became officers of Walsh's Irish regiment in 1777 and 1778 respectively. The former was author of " Réponses aux objections élevées contre le système colonial " (Paris 1825) and of " Reflexions sur la liberté des nègres dans les colonies francaises."

O'Sullivan, John, revolutionary leader. A native of Angers, he was of Irish descent on both paternal and maternal sides. Early in the eighteenth century his grandfather Denis O'Sullivan settled at Nantes, where on 2 July 1720 he married Helene, daughter of John FitzGerald, an Irish doctor practising in that city. John O'Sullivan became a " fencing-master by warrant of the king " and was a member of the Academy of Arms. A fanatical supporter of the Revolution, he was an active member of the Revolutionary clubs established at Nantes and in 1792 was an officer of one of the Republican Guard in the city. During the war in La Vendée he commanded one of the battalions which helped to suppress the royalist and Catholic forces. In the reign of frightfulness under Carrier at Nantes he took a leading part in the assassinations and drownings and, when the terror ended, he with Carrier and the chief participants in the atrocities was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris. Carrier and his chief henchmen were guillotined, but O'Sullivan, though found guilty, was set at liberty on the ground that he " did not act with criminal and anti-revolutionary intent ".

His younger brother, Charles, a strong royalist and Catholic, who was collector of stamps at Saint Georges-sur-Loire, took the opposite side in the Vendean war. At an early engagement John was captured by the royalists and was about to be executed when his brother's appeal for him procured his release. Some months later the royalist forces were defeated at Savenay (December 1793), and Charles, now a fugitive, sought shelter at Nantes in the house of the brother whose life he had saved and who now handed him over to Carrier's revolutionary tribunal, which had him immediately guillotined. Defending himself later for this action before the tribunal at Paris, John declared that his brother was a rebel who had

murdered patriots and that he (John) acted as a good Republican should act.

O'Sullivan, John William (Chevalier), soldier. Born in Co. Kerry in 1700. Son of Dermot O'Sullivan, lord of Dunkerron (of the Cappanacusha branch of the O'Sullivans). In his ninth year he was sent to Paris for his education, and at the end of six years he went to Rome where he followed for some time an ecclesiastical course of studies. On the death of his father he came back to Ireland for a short time and sold the paternal property. Returning to France he was there employed by Marshal Maillebois as tutor to his son. He was urged to adopt a military career by the Marquis, whom he accompanied as secretary to Corsica in the French expeditionary force in 1739. During the conquest of that island all the responsibilities of the campaign devolved on O'Sullivan, with the result that he acquired a high military reputation. On his return to France he went with the French forces through the War of the Austrian Succession in new campaigns in Italy and the Rhine, where his efficiency gained him the repute of " understanding the irregular art of warfare better than any man in Europe ".

A zealous Jacobite, he was appointed adjutant to Prince Charles Edward in 1745 and he was one of the " seven men of Moidart " who accompanied the Prince to Scotland. Throughout the campaign of the Forty-Five he was the Prince's chief adviser, and an intimate friendship was established between them. This attachment to the Irish officer created much jealousy among the Scottish chieftains. Cameron of Lochiel and O'Sullivan were in command of the nine hundred Highlanders in September 1745. In the council of war at Derby which determined on the retreat from that town it has been said that O'Sullivan and the Irish officers favoured the continuance of the march to London, but the recent publication of his letters shows that this was not so. It was O'Sullivan acting as adjutant of the Jacobite army who drew up the line of battle at Culloden. After the disaster there he accompanied the Prince in his wanderings for some time, and in October 1746 escaped back to France. In 1753 he was created a baronet of Ireland. Unlike other prominent Jacobites he remained loyal to the Prince through all vicissitudes, and in 1759 he was with the French expeditionary force destined for the invasion of England and Ireland. The date of his death is uncertain, but it was probably very soon after the failure of the proposed expedition. His diary and letters, published in 1938 under the title of " 1745 and After " (by A. and H. Tayler), are an important contribution to the literature of the Jacobite Rising.

In 1749 O'Sullivan married Louise, daughter of Thomas FitzGerald and Louise O'Connor, and left a son, Thomas Henry, who entered the Irish Brigade in France, accompanied Paul Jones for some time and eventually joined the Dutch army.

Richard Hayes

NEWMAN AT BEAUMONT

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

BY this time readers of the Catholic press will be more or less familiar with the circumstances and outward aspects of the Newman Centenary Conference which took place at Beaumont College near Windsor last August. They will have appreciated the success of the Newman Association's courageous enterprise together with the no less courageous response of the authorities of Beaumont College. They have been told of the delightful setting in which the Conference was held, of the presence of more than 450 delegates representing some sixteen nationalities. They may have learned the names of the speakers and the titles of the papers read. Be that as it may, I do not propose to deal with these matters, though they have left in the minds of all who took part very pleasant memories. Instead I shall set down, in a somewhat casual way, some of the aspects of Newman's personality and work and a few of the ideas that were mooted in the course of the papers that were read and of the discussions that ensued. No doubt many of these papers will be published —some of them have already appeared—in various periodicals. But there must be many who have not the leisure or even the opportunity to read them in their printed form. For such the following very imperfect record, made on the spot, may have a certain interest.

I was unfortunately unable to reach Beaumont until after the first four lectures had been delivered—a heavy loss seeing that the speakers were Father Philip Hughes,[1] Mr. Douglas Woodruff, Editor of *The Tablet*, Rev. Dr. F. H. Davis, Vice-Rector of Oscott, and Mr. T. S. Gregory, Editor of the *Dublin Review*. The fifth paper was read by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Arthur Ryan, Professor of Scholastic Philosophy in Queen's University, Belfast. It dealt, in Mgr. Ryan's usual lucid and convincing manner, with Newman's *Grammar of Assent* and the philosophical problems to which it gives rise. His paper was not needlessly technical in its presentation ; but, dealing as it did with the department of philosophy known as epistemology, it was obviously directed to trained minds. It was no mere laudation of Newman's teaching, but on the contrary a criticism in the course of which the lecturer, while paying tribute to the intellectual power displayed in the *Grammar*, expressed the opinion that its epistomology was dangerously nominalist. Some of the speakers to the paper questioned whether Newman was concerned with epistomology at all or indeed with abstract theory. What he had in mind, they thought, was the psychological approach to truth and how in practice that approach might be facilitated. Be that as it may, Mgr. Ryan had many other things to say that were

[1] His paper has since been published in the *Dublin Review*.

of the greatest interest. He pointed out that Newman's book was written before the great revival of scholastic philosophy due mainly to Leo XIII and Cardinal Mercier. It is not at all surprising that Newman failed to be impressed by the scholasticism of his day. But what he rejected was not scholasticism but the philosophy of Descartes—pure, abstract intellectualism. He wanted men to embrace truth not with the intellect only but with the whole soul, not with a ' notional ' assent only but with a ' real ' assent.

In the next lecture Father Martin D'Arcy, S.J., took up a difficult problem—he called it " the problem of to-day," viz. the respective role of reason and belief in the assent of faith and the manner in which the mind reaches certitude. The treatment of the problem was more subtle and in a sense more technical than that of Mgr. Ryan, and the paper dealt rather with the most modern thought on the subject than with Newman's. Father D'Arcy has published several books and articles dealing with this problem.[1]

From Newman as theologian and philosopher we passed to Newman as educator with a lecture on his *Idea of a University* delivered by Professor Nigel Abercrombie of University College, Exeter. At the outset the lecturer insisted, at some length, on Newman's Oxford affinities. He was " simply an Oxford man," a product of Oxford and faithful to Oxford even to the end. " His notion of a University was exclusively that of Oxford " : he knew no other and cared to know no other, because he saw in Oxford the centre of a perfectly adequate system of education. Oxford represented the quintessence of the only civilization which in his view deserved the name, a civilization derived from Rome but with Graeco-Semitic origins. The purpose of a University was for him the education of gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen, and this at a time when the function of a country gentleman could be summed up as ' to hunt, to shoot, and to entertain '.

Newman believed that truth was one and therefore all knowledge, all the sciences. A liberal education was an all round education, an awareness of all branches of knowledge and of the concordance and interdependence of the sciences,[2] not an exclusive specialization which deadens the mind. He could never have understood modern man " with contrarieties lodged in various corners of his brain and his mind full of contradictions ". Nor could he understand a university without the express teaching of religion (nearly all the Dons in his day were clergymen) ; for theology is a science and the queen of sciences. He looked on a merely extra-mural religious life as a dangerous experiment for Catholic students at a non-Catholic University.

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[1] *The Nature of Belief, Belief and Reason.*

[2] This is one of the cherished ideas of Père Alphonse Gratry in his book *Les Sources*, translated under the title *The Well Springs.*

These ideas of Newman were subjected to considerable criticism, both by the lecturer himself (who was in general sympathy with him) and by the speakers in the discussion. Some speakers thought that separate Universities for Catholics and non-Catholics might create a situation in which there would be no common ground for discussion nor even any common terminology. Others spoke up for specialization. Others again doubted whether, nowadays at least with the immense extension of scientific knowledge, much would be gained by imparting to students a smattering of the various sciences, and Pope's " a little knowledge is a dangerous thing " etc. was quoted. It is evident that to Ireland some at least of these ideas of Newman were inapplicable; and, as the lecturer remarked, " it was as an Oxford man that Newman came to Dublin ".

It is natural that, in the course of discussions on Newman's *Idea of a University*, the question of Catholic Universities should arise. It was acknowledged on all hands that the atmosphere of the secular Universities, even of Newman's beloved Oxford, was gradually ceasing, if it had not already ceased, to be Christian. And it was consequently asked if that could be considered a suitable atmosphere for the education of young Catholics. Granted that they might pass through such Universities without loss of the Faith, would the education gained there tend to the creation of a Catholic intellectual élite, fully equipped to hold its own in a world of unbelief? In other countries besides England this problem had been felt acutely. Many of them had solved it or endeavoured to solve it by the creation of Catholic Universities such as the Instituts Catholiques in France, Louvain in Belgium, Nijmegen in Holland, Fribourg in Switzerland, Lublin in Poland, the Sacro Cuore in Milan, and a multitude of Catholic Universities in the United States.[1] Some speakers at the Conference, notably Mr. Robert Speaight, took the line of rather depreciating existing Catholic Universities from an educational point of view. Others held that a Catholic University in England, however desirable, was not practicable because of the prestige of existing Universities, notably Oxford and Cambridge, which no new University could hope to rival. Others went further and held that a purely Catholic University was not even desirable. One of their reasons has already been mentioned above. On the whole the current seemed to me to be flowing against the idea of a Catholic University. But there was not wanting a fairly strong current that flowed in an opposite direction. A powerful plea in favour of that idea was made by Mr. T. S. Gregory. Such an institution, he admitted, could not be created overnight, but it ought to be made part of a ten year or, if need be, twenty-five year plan. A Catholic education, he pleaded, without a Catholic University lacked what ought to be its summit and its crown. A very earnest debate was concluded by a speech

[1] I do not know of any Catholic University in Germany, but no doubt in Catholic territories there the local University sometimes had a Catholic complexion.

from Father Philip Hughes, a distinguished alumnus of Louvain, who made an impassioned plea for a Catholic University in England, ending with the words: "If you don't get a Catholic University in the next fifty years, you are done for."

Catholic religious instruction in the secondary schools was dealt with in a thoughtful paper by Father Desmond Boyle, S.J., Prefect of Studies at Beaumont. He thinks that Catholic educators are inclining more and more to the view that religious instruction should not be regarded as a special subject to which special periods are allotted, but rather as something that should permeate the entire instruction given in the college. Why, for instance, should the subject history be taught as if the Church did not exist and as though God had no influence on and no concern with the course of history? "What," he asked, "are we doing with that precious possession our religion?" The ordinary teaching in Catholic schools seemed to lack a plan, a plan of life. It seemed to consist of a number of separate subjects each studied for its own sake, without relation to the other subjects and without relation to life. The Faith ought to provide a principle of unity. He sees a peril to education, true education regarded as a training of all the faculties, in the trend of recent legislation in England, the primary aim of which seems to be social and economic rather than educational. There is a danger, too, of substituting technical skill for education. This paper led to a discussion that went on for hours, for the subject was of very general interest.

Another aspect of Newman's genius was studied in a paper by Professor Joseph Reilly of Hunter College, New York. The subject is indicated by the Professor's book *Newman as a Man of Letters*. The paper proved to be a masterly survey of literature and thought in Newman's time. Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold were the prophets of their day. Newman stood out in contrast with these and other prophets, major and minor—his absolute, unwavering faith in God who was always for him the grand reality, his resistance to liberalism (in the continental sense) and to scepticism, his passion for lucidity in thought and expression, his profound belief that "the sum and crown of education is the science of God". Newman, for all his resistance to the infiltration of certain new ideas which he abhorred, was a modern not a mediaevalist. Though there is little or no sociology in his writings, "he was the greatest apostle of reform in the Victorian era".

The thirteenth paper dealt with those *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* which Newman delivered in 1851 to a mixed audience in the Corn Exchange, Birmingham. It was read by the Rev. Herbert Keldany, B.A. (Oxon), a very active member of the Newman Association. At the time the Lectures were delivered the Catholics in England had grown from a tiny minority of less than 100,000 in 1780, the date of the Gordon riots (which scared them for a generation), to a

possible 400,000. A year before, the hierarchy had been restored—the famous "Papal aggression" which caused such an outburst of bigotry. Newman wanted to dissipate ignorance and prejudice, but at the same time he called upon the Catholic laity to live up to the faith that was in them and not to blush for their convictions. He wanted more than that. At a time when Catholics were extremely chary of propaganda and when lay cooperation was regarded without enthusiasm in London, Dublin (under Cardinal Cullen), and even in Rome, Newman called on Catholic laymen to be apologists (to-day we should say apostles). He wrote in a letter: "I am sure the laity can be made to-day the strength of the Church." Yet it was then a far cry to Pius XI and Catholic Action. But what he wanted was an intelligent and well-instructed laity, nay an intellectual élite, and thought of a school of theology for the laity. At the time nothing concrete was done, for the Achilli trial supervened and then his six or seven years in Ireland. But the Oratory School was meant as a partial fulfilment of his aims, and the Oratory School in its turn, said Mgr. Ronald Knox, had a great influence on other Catholic colleges.

For the moment I pass over several other lectures that were given, in order to mention the paper with which Mgr. Ronald Knox brought the series to a close. It was entitled "Loss or Gain?" and was a broad survey of the present position of the Church in England. One would like to record it verbatim, for it was full of good things. I can but glean a few of them here and there. The Oxford Movement failed in its specific objects—to combat liberalism, which was to corrode the Anglican Establishment, and secularism, which was to capture the Universities—and nearly everything else. In the year that followed Newman's conversion (1845) the immigration of great numbers of Irish people brought fresh blood and fresh life (said the lecturer) into the insular Catholicism of England. On the other hand, despite the Oxford Movement, rationalism, secularism, and modernism have done their work and "to-day England is a pagan country and the Church of England is almost a sect". What, then, of conversions to Catholicism? They fluctuate within narrow limits from year to year—their fluctuations, Mgr. Knox considers, being largely determined by the course of political events; any event on the Continent which, to an Englishman's way of thinking, reflects discredit on the Church causes a lowering in the number of conversions. The highest figure, 14,000, was reached in 1917; in 1944 it was 8,000.

The debate between Left and Right, non-existent in Newman's day, now impinges on religion; for the politics of the Left afford a kind of escape for those unwilling to think of Christianity and satisfies to some extent their need of a religion. While Protestants of a religious turn find what they require in Anglo-Catholicism and rest content with it.

"Has the mind of the ordinary Englishman got into a better or a worse frame of mind?" asked Mgr. Knox. His answer was: "England

has gone Philistine." The great majority are simply not interested in the past, especially the urban proletariate and the middle classes; they are losing hold on tradition. Their idea is 'get on with the job': who cares what happened centuries ago? Has Catholicism more chance or less of influencing the modern mind? Mgr. Knox had to answer frankly: "I do not know." One thing at least is certain, Catholicism is far better served by literature than ever before, especially by the splendid theological and apologetic literature of the Continent. But what can be done when "the great majority of Englishmen do not believe in the existence of God?" What is wanted, Mgr. Knox concluded, is not more politics, even religious politics, but more "Thomistic atomism".

These few gleanings from a few of the principal lectures can give but an imperfect notion of the proceedings at Beaumont. What they specially fail to bring out is the manner in which the great personality of Newman dominated everything. Several lectures not hitherto mentioned were devoted to personal reminiscences of him. The sixth, written by a great student of Newman Father Henry Tristram of the Oratory and read in his absence by a young Oratorian, recorded memories of Newman in his old age. The ninth, "Newman and Some Oxford Friends," was given by a student of the Oxford Movement, Canon S. L. Ollard of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Delightful glimpses of him were given by men who had been boys in his school or had known him otherwise in their boyhood—Lord Fitzalan, Lord Rankeillour, and above all Canon Dessain of Malines. An aspect of the great Cardinal's life-work which my jottings have not hitherto touched upon is his influence in countries other than his own. A session of the Conference was devoted to a symposium on this aspect. Speaker after speaker testified to what Newman meant to that speaker's native country. One of the most interesting was Father Louis Bouyer, a French Oratorian, who had been a Lutheran minister before his reception into the Church in 1939. He gave a critical review of the very abundant Newman literature in France. He discussed the influence of Newman on such French writers as Blondel, Rousselot, de Grandmaison, de la Taille, Bremond. Messages were read from Cardinal Suhard and from Maurice Blondel (by his granddaughter). A Pole related a moving story of the conversion, a few days before his death through the influence of Newman's works, of a free-thinking Polish writer named Stanislas Brzozowski. Dr. Reilly said that the influence of the *Idea of a University* was widespread in the United States. There were numerous Newman societies there and a Newman bookshop. And so on.

It might fairly be said that the Beaumont Conference was, in the words of one who was present, a restoration rather than a commemoration of Newman. For the general impression that emerged from the lectures and discussions is that Newman is not a mere memory but a man with a living message for the times.

S. J. Brown

SIR ROBERT KANE'S SOIL SURVEY OF IRELAND

THE RECORD OF A FAILURE

BY R. C. SIMINGTON AND PROFESSOR T. S. WHEELER

Introduction

ON November 13, 1848, Sir Robert Kane[1]* described to the Royal Irish Academy[2] a project for a soil survey of Ireland which, as director, he had initiated in the Museum of Irish Industry soon after its foundation in 1845. This project was planned on a most ambitious scale; for it involved, for each of the 60,000 townlands[3] of Ireland, a comparison of the value of the soil as determined by chemical analysis with the practical value given in the official land valuation begun by Griffith[4] in 1830. For the purposes of comparison, Kane had decided to transfer, to the county index maps (half-inch to the mile) of the Ordnance Survey, the townland boundaries shown on the six-inch maps and to colour each townland area with a tint corresponding to the average value in shillings per statute acre, which seldom exceeded 36. Each colour related to a range of 2s., but the actual colours used were not given by Kane in his address. The "detailed" maps so formed gave a pictorial representation of the different classes of land; but, although necessary for his investigations, they were, in Kane's opinion, too crowded for general use. He had, accordingly, based the detailed system of tints used on five typical colours related to classes of land as follows:—

Typical Tints	Types of Land
Black	Waste (0-2 shillings per acre)
Brown	Inferior
Yellow and Green	Medium
Blue and Purple	Superior
Red	Artificially valued owing to local circumstances, *e.g.*, proximity to towns (usually above 32 shillings per acre).

Using the five tints, Kane had prepared other "generalized" maps

* All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

showing the values of groups of townlands reduced to an average of value. He exhibited examples of both types of maps[5] to the Academy, and pointed out that they illustrated the several influences under which the practical values of soils depend—*e.g.* elevation above sea level, proximity of towns, direction of great roads, chemical constitution of the soil, geological character of the locality. Kane concluded by stating that, while the chemical composition of a soil will indicate its power to supply the materials necessary for the growth of plants, its practical fertility will depend also on other mechanical and " meteoric " (*sic*) conditions. To eliminate these and to estimate their relative influences, he thought it desirable to contrast, under the form of maps, the chemical constitution of the soils of the several districts and their relations to climate with the practical standard of value given by the official valuation. The conversion of the numerical estimates of the valuations into a feasible and pictorial representation had been the principle of the construction of the maps now laid before the Academy.

Kane's project, therefore, involved the construction of two series of maps, both based on the half-inch County Index Maps :—

1. A series of valuation maps of the Irish counties, representing the distribution of the financial value of land. There were two kinds of such maps for each county : in the " detailed " map the position, limit and average financial value (shown by a colour) were given for every individual townland, while in the " generalized " map the individual townlands were not marked, but the values were grouped and areas coloured according to the five types of soils indicated above. For ordinary practical purposes Kane considered the generalized maps sufficient.

2. A series (not shown to the Academy) of what Kane called " agrological " or " agronomical " maps—soil maps— representing the chemical composition and state of mechanical aggregation of the agricultural soil in each county in Ireland.

It is convenient to trace separately the history of each of these ill-fated efforts ; and since the valuation maps were based on Government Valuations carried out under the direction of Griffith, an account of the complex legislation enacted over the period 1826-1852 and of Griffith's administration may be of interest.

Valuation of Ireland

The first General Valuation, known as the " Townland Valuation," though it was commenced by Griffith as Commissioner of Valuation in 1830 in accordance with the provisions of the 7 Geo. IV., c. 62 (1826)[6], was mainly carried out under an amending Act,[7] the 6 & 7 Will. IV., c. 84, passed in 1836. It was the intention of Government, as manifested by these opening Acts of the Valuation Code, to provide a uniform basis for the assessment of the county cess and other Grand Jury charges.

Hitherto, the county rates had been levied without reference to any uniform system whatever, the basis of taxation varying in different parts of the country. In some regions it was by the old civil division of ploughlands varying in size and value but rated at an equal sum ; or, again, by townlands, of which the assumed areas bore no defined proportion to their actual contents.[8] A Select Committee, appointed by the House of Commons, had reported in 1815 that " some mode should be taken to render Grand Jury assessments more equal by correcting the defects arising from apportioning the county rate according to old surveys calculated on the measure of land formerly deemed profitable "[9].

It was not practicable, however, to give effect to the recommendation thus made until the Boundary and Ordnance Surveys had determined and defined the limits and areas of the divisions and sub-divisions of the country. These undertakings were sufficiently advanced in 1830 to enable a start to be made with the General Valuation initiated by the Act of 1826. It was the purpose of this Act and the amending Act of 1836 to ensure, as already indicated, that the relative value of townlands within any county, though ascertained at different periods, and the relative value of townlands of different and distant counties should be the same. To achieve this object the Legislature embodied in these Acts, as indeed in all subsequent Acts, a scale of prices of agricultural produce which was to be the standard of valuation for the whole country ; that included in the Acts of 1826 and 1836 represented the average market prices for the year 1816 or 1817[10]. Though the details of the manner in which the annual value of the land was to be estimated were not indicated by the Act, the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to issue such instructions as were necessary for its execution. Other statutory provisions authorised the Commissioner of Valuation to appoint " Valuators " experienced in the surveying of lands and houses and who were suitable in other relative connections.

Instructions to Valuators. Though this last provision pre-supposed the existence of fully qualified Valuators, Griffith found it necessary, in the first instance, to establish a peripatetic " School of Valuation " in which he adumbrated the principles on which the proposed valuation of land and houses was to be made[11]. Later, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, these principles were embodied in a code of " Instructions " written by Griffith and regarded as a classic, which defined with great minuteness the nature of the valuators' duties. The first book of Instructions was issued in 1833 ; later editions, synchronising with new requirements or amended legislation, appeared in 1836, 1839 and 1853. With the last edition a geological map of Ireland was supplied[12]. From the Instructions dated September 1839[13], supplemented by " Additional " Instructions issued in 1844, the principles under which the " Townland Valuation " was made can be determined. Distinct sections are devoted

to the " Description " and " Arrangement " of soils which are specified under four heads : argillaceous or clayey, siliceous or sandy, calcareous or limey, and peaty ; these heads are further subdivided into two to four varieties. A further section provides for the " Classification " of soils with reference to their respective values, of which tables are provided ; under this head, soils are divided into classes—*e.g.* prime land, medium land, poor land (clayey, shallow or stony arable, cultivated moors or bogs, and natural pastures and bogs). Paragraph 23 directs that, in ascertaining the value of land contained within the division of the townland, the valuator was carefully to examine the whole townland, independent of its superficial appearance : " The nature and depth of the soil and the quality of the subsoil are to be the principal grounds on which he is to form his judgment of the value of the land "[14]. Accurate descriptions of the results of such examination were to be entered in the Field Books specially designed for this purpose. Directions were also given that allowances were to be made " on the spot " in regard to elevation, steepness, exposure to injurious winds, different varieties of soil occurring in small patches or any other peculiar local circumstance. The methods to be adopted in valuing houses, mills and factories were likewise set out in great detail.

The system to be adopted in carrying into effect the enactment contained in the ninth Section of the Act of 1836 respecting the standard by which the valuation was to be made—the scale of prices of agricultural produce—is given in paragraph nine of the Instructions. Previous to commencing the valuation in the year 1830, Griffith had ascertained that the general average prices of agricultural produce throughout Ireland, for the five years previous to that period, was one-eighth or 2s. 6d. per pound higher than the general average prices contained in the Act. Having also ascertained the fair letting value of land at the commencement of the valuation, he deducted therefrom 2s. 6d. in the pound for the purpose of reducing the value of land at that time to suit the schedule of prices contained in the Act. By this means the relative scale of value, intended by the Legislature, would be preserved. Valuators, accordingly, were notified of the procedure thus laid down.

On the lines indicated, the valuation of eighteen counties was completed by March 1844 ; those in the process of valuation were Clare, Galway, Kilkenny, Leix (then Queen's County), Mayo, Offaly (then King's County), Waterford, Wexford and Wicklow ; Dublin, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and practically all Tipperary remained to be valued.

Inquiry into Townland Valuation. In July 1844, a Select Committee of the House of Commons (see footnote 10) was appointed to inquire whether the Townland Valuation, in progress, could be utilised for the imposition of the Poor Rate and other local rates. Before indicating the recommendations of this Committee it should be recalled that, under the Poor Relief Act passed in 1838 (1 & 2 Vict., c. 56), a distinct valuation,

based on a different principle to that of the Townland Valuation, had been authorised for the purpose of the assessment of the Poor Rate. This valuation was placed under the direction of the Poor Law Guardians, who appointed their own local valuators, and was completed about the year 1842. The provisions of the Poor Relief Act, sections 63-65, which accorded substantially with the law of rating in England, directed that each occupier was to be rated separately on the basis of the " net annual value of the land to let "[15].

Two distinct valuations, therefore, had come into existence for different purposes, based on different principles and in respect of different units—the townland and the holding or tenement. It was to remedy the confusion and inconvenience caused by this exceptional state of affairs, that the inquiry of 1844 was instituted. After a minute examination of the position the Committee found that in its actual form the Townland Valuation could not be made available for the assessment of the Poor Rate for the following reasons: (1) it contemplated no smaller division than a townland; (2) it failed to indicate the positive letting value required by the Poor Relief Act; (3) much property liable to Poor Rates, but not to County Rates, had been omitted[16]. As regards the Valuations which had been made for the purposes of the Poor Relief Act, the Committee considered that, though framed upon a sound principle, it was not sufficiently uniform to afford a fair basis for the imposition of the County Rates[17]. In these circumstances, the Committee recommended to Parliament that there should be only one valuation for all purposes of Local Taxation in Ireland; that it should distinguish the value of each tenement separately according to the " net annual value to let "; and that the Townland Valuation should be discontinued.

The Tenement Valuation. These recommendations were not adopted in their entirety in the legislation which followed in 1846 (9 & 10 Vict., c. 110)[18]. The Tenement Valuation, under the direction of the Commissioner of Valuation, was limited to certain counties—Dublin, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford. Distinct principles of valuation for Poor Law purposes and County Rates were prescribed by different sections. Section 9 provided that a valuation should be made of all rateable tenements, for Poor Law purposes, upon an estimate of the net annual value at which the same would let from year to year subject to rates and taxes and certain specified expenses being paid by the tenant. On the other hand Section 39 provided that, " in addition to the Tenement Valuation according to the net annual value, an additional valuation for the purpose of county assessment shall be made with reference to the average prices of agricultural produce . . . " according to the scale specified in the Act. This was the same scale as had appeared in the Acts of 1826 and 1836[19]. As regards the counties which had been valued under former Acts, Section 73 provided for their revaluation under the provisions of

the cited Act, if the Grand Juries should so require. Meanwhile the valuations already made, in respect of such counties, were to remain.

Six years later, in 1852, the foregoing Act was superseded by the 15 & 16 Vict., c. 63, which authorised for the entire country one uniform valuation according to tenements[20]. This valuation when completed was to be used for all Grand Jury rates, city, town and parish rates, as for Poor Law assessments. Different principles of valuation for land and houses, however, were to be followed. As regards the former, Section 11 directed that the valuation should be made on an estimate of the net annual value of land " with reference to the average Prices of the several Articles of agricultural produce " therein specified. The scale provided differed, for the first time, from that appearing in previous Acts[21]. As regards houses and buildings, the valuation was to be made on an estimate of the net annual value, or rent for which the same might be expected to let from year to year—all rates, taxes, and other expenses (except tithe rent-charge) being paid by the tenant. Numerous Acts affecting details were passed in subsequent years, but none altering the principles of the Statute.

By virtue, therefore, of the legislation of 1846-52, two Valuations may be said to have been scrapped—the Townland Valuation and the Poor-Law Guardians' Valuation. The former had been completed for Connacht, Leinster (County Dublin excepted), and Ulster ; according to evidence given before the Select Committee of 1869 (footnote 11) this Valuation had cost £160,000. There have survived, however, features of the Townland Valuation of great importance—the Field Books describing the soils and sub-soils of the townlands and the corresponding maps. The valuations which these expressed were concerned *solely*, it may be emphasised, with the quality and productivity of the soil and, for this reason, may still be considered to furnish information of practical value.

Kane's Work on the Valuation Maps

Kane's address to the Academy was given in 1848, but the work had been in progress for nearly two years previously. On 16 November 1846, we find him writing for one copy each of all the Survey County Index Maps, one copy of the Map of Elevations published in connection with the Land Tenure Commissioners Report, and four copies of the map published to accompany the Railway Commissioners' Report. In June and December 1848 and April 1849 he requested copies of the six-inch maps and the Index maps of various counties, as many as 10 copies of each index being required. At first the Board of Ordnance supplied the maps without question ; later they inserted a proviso that the maps should be returned as soon as the object for which they were required had been attained[22].

In his Annual Report as Director of the Museum of Irish Industry

for 1853 (dated 26 January 1854)[23] Kane stated that the valuation maps of all the Irish counties were complete, with the exception of the colouring of part of Munster and of county Dublin—which, as we have seen, were not included in the original valuation. He continued: "The valuation of the several counties is now being coloured in on the general (Railway Commissioners') map of Ireland from the separate valuation maps of the Ordnance Indexes' scales. By this means a most interesting general view of the distribution of values of land over the entire country will be obtained. The references to these valuation maps by persons wishing to purchase properties in Ireland, or connected with the management of landed property, is becoming very frequent, and the remarkable definiteness and utility of the information they supply is fully recognized." In a return, dated 22 May 1854, of information required by order of the House of Commons[24], Kane wrote that the valuation maps of nearly all the Irish counties were ready for publication; only small portions of the Munster counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary remained to be completed.

A Guide to the Museum published in 1858[25] states (p. 11) that there were deposited in the offices of the Museum a series of coloured maps showing the distribution of the values of land in the Irish counties according to the official valuation. The Report of the Commission on the Royal Dublin Society, the Museum of Irish Industry and the System of Scientific Instruction in Ireland dated 1862[25] also refers (p. 14) to the presence of the coloured valuation maps in the Museum. This is the last reference to these maps; they are not mentioned in a return made by Kane to an order of the House of Commons in 1864[26], nor in a catalogue[27], published in 1872, of the Royal College of Science for Ireland, into which teaching institution the Museum of Irish Industry developed.

Kane's detailed colour scheme. No trace of the coloured maps has been found, though search has been made in all likely Government Departments and Institutions both in Dublin and in London by courtesy of the Governments concerned. Some of Kane's work remains, however, for in the Science Library of University College, Dublin—formerly the Library of the Royal College of Science for Ireland and of the Museum of Irish Industry—there is a set of six-inch maps of Ireland which once belonged to the Museum. Inspection of these maps shows that, on all the townlands of most of the counties, there is written in pencil a colour related to the five general colours mentioned by Kane in his address to the Academy. There is a general but not exact correspondence as regards completed counties with Kane's 1854 Report to the House of Commons. Of the thirty-two counties, Clare and Cork only have not been touched; there are a few entries for Limerick, and Kerry and Kildare are but partly finished. A number of the entries for Dublin have been erased and are indecipherable; otherwise the work is complete.

TABLE I

Sir Robert Kane's Scheme of Tints for Land Values

Value per statute acre in shillings.	Special Tint.	General Tint.	Class.
0— 2	Black	Black	Waste lands
2— 4	Sepia	Brown	Soils of inferior value
4— 6	Burnt Umber		
6— 8	Vandyke Brown		
8—10	Indian Red		
10—12	Raw Sienna		
12—14	Yellow Ochre	Yellow and Green	Soils of medium value
14—16	Gamboge		
16—18	Sap Green		
18—20	Emerald Green		
20—22	Blue	Blue and Purple	Soils of superior value
22—24	Royal Blue		
24—26	Purple		
26—28	Crimson Lake	Red	Soils of "factitious" (artificial) value particularly when above 32 shillings per acre
28—30	Orange		
30—32	Venetian Red		
32—36	Carmine		
Exceeding 36	Vermillion		

NOTES.

(*a*) The scheme for Wicklow and Kildare, apparently the first counties examined by Kane, differs slightly from that given above, which was subsequently used, in that carmine is employed for 26s. to 28s. per acre and vermillion for all values exceeding 32s. per acre.

(*b*) Griffith in his 1839 Instructions classified soils as follows:—

Prime	...	30s. — 21s. 6d. per statute acre.
Medium	...	21s. — 11s. 6d. ,,
Poor	...	11s. downwards.

That these colours refer to Kane's original scheme becomes clear when the tints assigned to a sufficient number of townlands are compared with the corresponding value per acre deduced from the results of Griffith's first valuation[28]. The scale of values shown in Table I emerges; a scale which it will be seen is in line with the general outline given by Kane to the Academy. As explained in note (*a*) to the Table, the original scheme used by Kane for Wicklow and Kildare differs slightly from that finally adopted for the other counties.

In view of this difference it was thought advisable to check the colour scheme for all the counties; eventually some 2,500 townlands covering

the whole country were examined. A few minor discrepancies, probably due to errors in calculations, were found ; in addition there are a number of unexplained anomalies as regards the more highly valued townlands in the parish of St. Mary's (barony of Bantry, Co. Wexford).

Some difficulty was experienced in determining the particular valuation used by Kane for the counties not included in the original Townland Valuation, since there are original and revised (after appeal) figures available for the Tenement Valuations. Eventually, after a number of trials with the various figures, it was found that Kane generally employed the unrevised values given in what is known as the " Primary Valuation," which were based on the 1846 Act and became available in the early fifties. Dublin, however, was one of the first counties to be valued under this Act, and at the period in question there had been published figures revised after appeal (as laid down in the Act), and these Kane employed.

The Soil Maps

The information available in regard to the soil maps, with which Kane planned to supplement his valuation maps, is scanty. In April 1846, Kane wrote to Captain James, the first Director of the Irish Geological Survey[29], requesting the collection of specimens of every kind of soil and subsoil met with in each county during the progress of the survey[30]. It was some time, however, before the request could be granted ; for on the 20 June 1846, James resigned, stating to the Director-in-Chief Sir Henry De la Beche[31] : " The powers and means which have been entrusted to me are insufficient to enable me to carry on the duties (of his post) in a satisfactory manner either to the public or to myself." In a further letter of the 24 July 1846 to Viscount Canning, the Chief Commissioner of Woods, James stated that, " in an interview with the Earl of Lincoln (then Chief Commissioner of Woods) which I had the honour to have in company with Sir Henry De la Beche and Sir Robert Kane, His Lordship particularly directed me to afford every assistance to Sir Robert Kane, and he at the same time told that Gentleman that he was to look to me for all information to be collected in the Country and also for the specimens to be exhibited in the Museum in Dublin, of which he is Director, and moreover that he was to report me to His Lordship if I did not do my duty in a satisfactory manner." James went on to say that, from the directions he had since received from De la Beche, it was absolutely impossible for him to give the expected assistance to the Museum. De la Beche, in his reply to Canning, stated that the present funds of the Irish Survey were such as not to permit the systematic collection of soils without the Survey itself being greatly impeded, and he requested additional funds for the purpose. These funds were granted in September 1846 ; and, in November 1846, De la Beche wrote to Kane stating that he had

asked the new Director of the Irish Geological Survey, Professor Oldham[32], to consult with him as to the manner in which the soil collections were to be made.

It was not, however, until February 1847 that 30 specimens of soils and subsoils from the county of Wicklow were forwarded to Kane. After that, he received regular samples until, by the middle of 1852, over 1,300 samples of soils and subsoils had been sent. There was, however, much friction with the Geological Survey—as early as 1846 a dispute arose in regard to the transfer of material to the Museum. Again, after Kane had addressed the Academy meeting (to which reference has been made above), Oldham criticised the scheme, stating that averaging of soil value over a whole townland was liable to lead to erroneous results. He also stressed the fact that the samples which Kane had analysed had been procured by officers of the Geological Survey under his (Oldham's) direction. Kane replied that the employment of the townland as the unit of valuation gave, on the whole, correct averages—particularly when the generalised maps were under consideration. He also stated that Oldham was " somewhat obscure " in his reference to the collection of soils, since that was being made by the direction of the Chief Commissioner of Woods (footnote 2).

In 1851 De la Beche wrote to Oldham's successor, Jukes[33], asking for a report on the time spent in collecting soil samples, and was informed that 10—15% of the period spent in field work was involved. Jukes also stressed the inconvenience and expense of making the collection, a complaint he repeated in his annual report for 1851. In his report for the following year he stated that with Kane's consent the collection of soil samples had been discontinued in July 1852, owing to " the very great hindrance it caused to the legitimate duties of the Survey and in the hope that some other arrangements might be made for it in the future."

Kane's report for 1853[23] also referred to the suspension of the collection of soil specimens, which had hindered the progress of his investigation. He believed, however, that " the collection of the soils, and of the necessary agricultural information regarding their localities, may be otherwise more conveniently obtained for the purposes of the Museum, and a provision to that effect is inserted in the estimates for the coming year." Actually the special arrangements which he hoped to make for the collection of samples under his own direction never matured.

In his return (mentioned above)[24] to the House of Commons, made in May 1854, Kane reported that the construction of the " agrological " maps was in progress. In all, 751 soil analyses had been made, covering Dublin, Kildare, Wexford, Wicklow, and part of Carlow, Kilkenny and Leix. Considerable progress had been attained in the construction of the half-inch maps embodying the analytical results, together with the general physical characters of the counties, and the map of Kildare was ready

for publication. In this connection it had been necessary to contour the county half-inch maps using the elevations given in the six-inch maps. The descriptive memoirs which should accompany the soil maps could not, Kane reported, be completed until the geological memoirs of the respective localities prepared by officers of the Geological Survey became available for reference.

As with the valuation maps, this is the last definite reference to the progress of the soil maps. With the development of the teaching side of the Museum activities, the chemist attached to it could find no time for analytical work, so that the analysis of all the samples received before collection ceased was not completed. We find a reference to the soil maps of a few counties being with the valuation maps in the Museum in the Guide published in 1858 and in the Report of the 1862 Commission. In his evidence before this Commission (Report p. 92), Kane said : " We, therefore, never had anything to do with agriculture (in the Museum) except with regard to the chemical analysis of soils, the preparation of a series of maps showing the distribution of the values of land according to the Government valuation, and the forming of agronomical maps showing the distribution of soils in two or three counties. This latter was given up, as it was found to be attended with expense and embarrassment." The report[25], published in 1864, of a Select Committee on Scientific Institutions in Dublin stated (p. xiii) that " the construction of the agrological maps had been wholly given up, although the French Government has actively promoted the preparation of such maps since the Irish were projected ; and already the maps of several departments have been published . . . perhaps by a reorganization of this (the chemical) department (of the Museum) it may be possible to resume it, as well as to afford aid to the Geological Survey in the analysis of minerals, rocks, etc."

No trace has been found of the soil maps of the few counties completed by Kane—they, like the valuation maps, have vanished and the work has gone for nothing. To his contemporaries Kane must have appeared uniquely successful in the eminence he achieved ; yet in retrospect one wonders. The practical effect of his *Industrial Resources of Ireland* was killed by the famine ; the collections he brought together for his Industrial Museum have been dispersed, and we have no such museum now ; the college which he founded so that science might be taught with a view to its practical application has been closed, and the locusts have eaten the years of drudgery which he gave to the preparation of the soil and valuation maps. Something, however, still remains : the example which he set of patient unremitting toil. It is in the hope that these maps, the fruits of some of this toil, may be found that this article has been prepared ; it may bring to the mind of some reader a recollection of coloured maps stored and forgotten.

The thanks of the authors are due to the Taoiseach and the Heads of various Irish and British Government Departments who arranged for searches to be made for the maps at the instance of the Irish Manuscripts Commission; also to the Directors of the Geological and Ordnance Surveys and to the staffs of the Valuation Office, of the National Library, of the Library of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Science Library of University College, Dublin, for valuable assistance.

R. C. SIMINGTON and T. S. WHEELER

NOTES.

[1] For a general account of Kane's life and work and of the Museum of Irish Industry, see STUDIES, 1944, pp. 158 and 316.

[2] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1847-50, 4, 230.

[3] The townland, like the barony, is one of the ancient land divisions of Ireland which existed under other names prior to the introduction of Christianity. There were 4 ploughlands in a ballybetagh or townland and 30 townlands in a barony. In the ordnance maps all names of smaller sub-divisions are discarded, and the term "townland" is applied to every such denomination, whether great or small; consequently, there is now a great variation in the area of townlands, ranging from about an acre up to thousands of acres. (See *Townland Index*, 1901, Introduction).

[4] Sir Richard John Griffith (1784-1878) was one of the great Irishmen who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century. When Professor of Geology and Mining Engineer to the Royal Dublin Society (1812-22) he produced his famous geological map of Ireland. He was Engineer of the southern district roads from 1822 to 1846 and in charge of the Irish boundary survey between 1825 and 1846. He initiated the official valuation of Ireland, being Commissioner of Valuation from 1830 to 1868. He was long associated with the Irish Board of Public Works, of which he became Chairman.

[5] From the report of the Academy meeting (see footnote (2)), it would appear that maps relating to Wicklow and possibly Kildare were shown.

[6] Entitled "An Act to make Provision for the uniform Valuation of Lands and Tenements in the several Baronies . . . . and other Divisions of Counties in *Ireland* . . . ."

[7] Entitled "An Act to consolidate and amend the several Acts for the uniform valuation of Lands and Tenements in *Ireland* . . . ."

[8] *Cf. Report of Select Committee on the Survey and Valuation of Ireland*, 1824 (*Reports Committees*, 1824, 8; in the National Library).

[9] Quoted in Report referred to in previous note.

[10] See evidence of Griffith given before *Select Committee on Townland Valuation*, 1844. (*Reports Committees* (3), 1844, 7; in the National Library).

[11] Griffith: Evidence before *Select Committee on the General Valuation of Ireland*, 1869. (*Reports Committees*, (4), 1868-69, 9; in the National Library).

[12] *Instructions to the Valuators and Surveyors* appointed under the 15th and 16th Vict., Cap. 63, for the uniform Valuation of Lands and Tenements in Ireland. Alex. Thom: Dublin, 1853. (In the Valuation Office).

[13] *Instructions to the Valuators* appointed under the 6th and 7th Wm. IV., Cap. 84. Porter: Dublin, 1839.

[14] The following is Griffith's amplified account of the procedure followed: "It is the duty of the Valuators to separate each quality of land from the other by lines laid down on the map, each division being called a lot, and the valuators are directed to lay out each lot so that as far as possible it shall consist of one uniform quality. Having determined the boundary of the lot, the valuator then points it out to the assistant valuator both on the map and on the ground; they next proceed with great care to examine the lot, not by a superficial examination, but by digging up the surface, so as to ascertain the nature of the soil, its depth and the nature of the sub-soil; and the valuation is directed to be founded on these observations, and not on the surface appearance of the land, such appearances being very deceptive . . . . the object being that the quality of the ground, and not the state of cultivation, is the criterion on which the valuation is to be made . . . ."

[15] Griffith, giving evidence before the Select Committee of 1844 (footnote 10), stated that in reply to enquiries from Poor Law Guardians he had uniformly stated that the

addition of one-third to his valuation would give very nearly the full rent value of the land under ordinary proprietary.

[16] Tithes, mines, fisheries and quarries which were not rateable to County Cess were rateable to the Poor Rate.

[17] "It was for the most part executed by persons of inferior skill." Report of the Select Committee, 1844 (footnote 10).

[18] Entitled "An Act to amend the Law relating to the Valuation of rateable Property in *Ireland*."

[19] The two land valuations were in fact related for Section 47 of the Act provided that when the Poor Law Valuation of an area had been completed, it should be reduced for other local assessments to the agricultural produce scale. Further, Griffith declared, in 1869, (footnote 11) that the principle throughout was to value according to a scale of agricultural prices, not according to rents.

[20] Entitled "An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Valuation of rateable Property in *Ireland*."

[21] The same scale appeared in the first three Acts of the code and may here be contrasted with that given in the Act of 1852.

	Per cwt. of 112 lbs. Acts: 1826, 1836, 1846.				Per cwt. of 112 lbs. Act of 1852.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat	...	0	10	0	0	7	6
Oats	...	0	6	0	0	4	10
Barley	...	0	7	0	0	5	6
Potatoes	...	0	1	7		—	
Butter	...	3	9	0	3	5	4
Beef	...	1	13	0	1	15	6
Mutton	...	1	14	6	2	1	0
Pork	...	1	5	6	1	12	0

It will be observed that potatoes disappeared from the scale in the Act of 1852; flax appeared in the place of this item, the price quoted being £2 9s. per cwt. of 112 lbs. Wool was omitted from all the Acts.

[22] Correspondence in Ordnance Survey files.

[23] *First Report of the Department of Science and Art*, p. 459. (In the Science Library of University College, Dublin).

[24] *Accounts and papers* (20), 1854, 58. (In the National Library, Dublin).

[25] In the Library of Royal Irish Academy.

[26] *Accounts and papers* (15), 1864, 46. (In the National Library, Dublin).

[27] In the Science Library of University College, Dublin.

[28] The Townland Valuation for Connaught, Leinster (County Dublin excepted) and Ulster was published between 1836 and 1848. The printed volumes are scarce, but can be seen in the Valuation Office and in the National Library. Somewhat surprisingly, the Barony of Galway in the County of Galway is omitted from the printed Townland Valuation, but a reference to the original field books in the Valuation Office shows that the figures there given were used by Kane, since they fit in with the colour scheme in the Table.

[29] (Sir) Henry James, 1803-1877, entered the Royal Engineers in 1826 and was appointed to the Ordnance Survey. He was made Director of the Geological Survey in Ireland in 1845 and, on his resignation in 1846, became Superintendent of Construction at Portsmouth. He was Director-General of the Ordnance Survey from 1854 to 1875.

[30] See letter books of the Geological Survey for correspondence regarding soil samples and for the annual reports of the Director.

[31] (Sir) Henry De la Beche, (1796-1855), was appointed in 1832 by the British Government to conduct the Geological Survey, and ultimately became Director-General.

[32] Thomas Oldham, F.R.S., (1816-1878), was appointed Professor of Geology, Trinity College, in 1845. He was Director of the Irish Geological Survey from 1846 to 1850, when he resigned to become Superintendent of the Indian Survey, a post which he held until 1876. Like James, he expressed, when resigning, his dissatisfaction with the arrangements for the Irish Survey; control by letter from London did not function smoothly.

[33] Joseph Beete Jukes, F.R.S., (1811-1869), was Director of the Irish Geological Survey from 1850 to 1869 and Professor of Geology in the Museum of Irish Industry and in the Royal College of Science for Ireland.

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XI.—SANDPIPERS* AND PLOVER

THE GREATER YELLOWSHANK.—The Greater Yellowshank, an American species and called the Greater Yellowlegs in the United States, is a very rare and accidental visitor to these islands. Two have been obtained and two seen in England and one has been obtained in Ireland. The Irish bird was shot near Skibbereen, Co. Cork, on January 21st 1940, and was sent to the National Museum, Dublin, where I saw it in the flesh and where it is now a preserved specimen.

The Greater Yellowshank is much like the Greenshank in outline and appearance, though the pattern of its back is much more spotted. The black bill, olive at the base, is stouter and longer than the Redshank's and is distinctly up-tilted like the Greenshank's; the legs and feet are orange. The species breeds in the northern forest belt from Alaska, Alberta and Labrador south to British Columbia, Manitoba and Newfoundland and winters from the southern United States to Patagonia.

THE REDSHANK.—The Common or, as it is now called, the British Redshank is the most wide-spread and best known of the waders round our coasts in autumn and winter. It frequents every type of coast, but is most numerous on mudflats and in estuaries. Throughout the summer some non-breeding birds remain near the sea, the nesting pairs having retired to grassy marshes, riverside meadows and rough pastures both near the coast and inland.

Though there is practically no evidence from the lighthouse records of the migration of Redshanks and only a small number of ringed birds from Scotland and northern England have been recovered in Ireland, there must be a large influx in autumn and winter and a corresponding exodus in spring. It is true that the species nests in almost every county, but the pairs are so few and far apart that the total population of the breeding grounds, together with the non-breeders scattered round the coast, must fall far short of the great numbers seen in autumn and winter. The fact is that we know much less of the migratory movements to and from Ireland of the Redshank than, say, of the Curlew and the Lapwing, and much investigation remains to be done before we know for certain whether our nesting Redshanks migrate after breeding and where the majority of our wintering birds come from.

The Redshank is a medium-sized wader of a greyish-brown colour with orange-red legs and with a black tipped bill, orange at the base. In

*For other Sandpipers see articles in June issue (p. 252) and September issue (p. 354).

flight it displays a conspicuous pattern of brown and white. The lower back and tail-coverts are white and there is a broad, white crescent on the hind border of the wing. The young have yellowish legs and hence are sometimes wrongly recorded as Yellowshanks—from which, however, they can readily be distinguished by the wing pattern in flight, the American species having uniform dark grey wings without the white crescent. Though so common a bird, the Redshank on the ground is not always easy to identify; it can look so different in different surroundings and in varying conditions of light. The outline, the pose and even the colour are not constant. Usually very active, it can at times remain strangely quiet. But when it is put up, there can be no mistaking its identity.

It is a noisy and restless bird, much given to bobbing up and down as though the body were set on springs. Suspicious and alert when feeding, it gives the alarm to the other birds and, not without reason, it has been called " The Warden of the Marshes ". It is thoroughly disliked by sportsmen. Payne-Gallwey, calling it " the pest of fowlers," says that it has spoilt many a shot by its shrill cry at the wrong moment. Bird watchers, too, have reason to blame it for often putting to flight by its warning notes some rare bird which they have sighted or have settled down to study.

Waders as a rule, though well able to swim, do not often venture out of their depth. But Redshanks take more readily to deep water than the others. I have frequently seen them swimming. On one occasion, when watching a flock of about one hundred, I noticed that, as the tide began to cover their stand, they all, though not all together but two or three at a time, swam across a deep channel to a higher sand-bank. On another occasion on the North Bull some thirty Redshanks with a few Ringed Plover and Dunlin were feeding at the edge of the tide. Suddenly a Peregrine Falcon swooped past when all the birds flew out precipitately over the sea. The Redshanks alighted on the water some distance from the shore and, as the danger had passed as quickly as it came, they swam back to their feeding ground. The Ringed Plover and the Dunlin circled back to the shore without touching the water.

This species breeds at times on almost bare ground, but all the nests which I have seen were well concealed in tufts of long grass. Both sexes have incubation patches and both brood. They often sit close, not rising until almost walked on. When thus disturbed and when the young have left the nest, they are particularly noisy, flying with drooping wings around the intruder and calling in shrill and petulant tones. The eggs, usually four in number, vary considerably, but a common type is like a small egg of a Lapwing with a lighter ground colour.

There are two other birds, the Continental and the Iceland Redshanks, which in winter plumage are indistinguishable from the common species, but which in summer have darker upper-parts. There are slight differences

in the measurements of the three kinds ; but, where there is overlapping (as there is to a certain extent), measurements alone are of little help for identification. There is probably a regular migration of the Continental and Iceland Redshanks to Ireland, but so far no Continental and only three Iceland birds have been identified in this country. The three occurrences were in Antrim, Dublin and Mayo, the last being as late in the season as March 31st.

THE SPOTTED REDSHANK.—The Spotted Redshank is a rare and irregular visitor from August to April. The late Mr. R. Warren had many records of the species in Killala Bay between the years 1867 and 1888, but from the latter date to the end of the century he stated that he saw none though shooting regularly every year in the Moy Estuary. The North Bull Island comes next to the Moy Estuary in point of numbers. From 1888 to 1894 five birds were recorded, two having been observed on one occasion. Then in 1938 and 1939 there were several occurrences on the island, as recorded by Lt. Col. C. Scroope, two birds having been seen by him on October 10th 1939. Ussher and Warren give the six counties of Cork, Dublin, Kildare, Mayo, Sligo and Down, where there have been occurrences. Two other counties, Galway and Wexford, have now been added by Major R. F. Ruttledge.

The Spotted Redshank usually occurs near the coast, but it has been found inland on some occasions. There is a specimen in the National Museum from Sallins, Co. Kildare, while another bird, said by Warren to be probably the specimen in Trinity College, was shot at Bohernabreena, Co. Dublin. Finally, in August 1945 Major Ruttledge watched for ten days at first two, and later three, birds in a little bay in Lough Carra, Co. Mayo. This has been the only instance of three birds seen together in this country, but in England small parties of five or six and occasionally larger flocks have been met with. That the bird sometimes winters in this country has been proved, I think satisfactorily, by Major Ruttledge. On October 21st 1944 he saw a Spotted Redshank in Barna Bay, Co. Galway. He visited the place every month until, and including, March 1945 and on every visit he found the bird in the same area of ooze, to which it invariably returned after being disturbed.

The Spotted Redshank is somewhat larger than the common Redshank, with longer legs and a longer bill. In its summer black plumage, spotted with white on the back, it is quite unlike any other wader. In winter it is not so remarkably different from the common species, but it is a more ashy-grey bird with wing coverts and scapulars noticeably barred and spotted with white instead of being uniform. The most outstanding difference is the absence of the white crescent on the hinder portion of the wings which is so conspicuous a feature of the common bird in flight. In winter there is also a well defined dark streak between the bill and the

eye. The flight call is quite distinctive, being one of the most easily recognized of the rarer wader notes and being quite sufficient for identification even when the bird is not seen. This call has been rendered as " tchūet " or " tchūeet " and Warren says it can be imitated only by whistling.

The species breeds in northern Scandinavia, Finland, North Russia and through Siberia to Kamtschatka and winters in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, in Persia, Burma, China and Japan.

THE GREENSHANK.—The Greenshank, a regular passage migrant and winter visitor, has been recorded for every month of the year. Coward in *The Birds of the British Isles* wrote in 1920 : " A few birds winter in Ireland and, more rarely, in England." Since then the wintering birds have definitely increased. From autumn to spring in Co. Dublin the species is seldom absent from the North Bull and the Baldoyle and Malahide Estuaries, and it seems more likely that these are wintering birds than that there is a continuous stream of migration. Though occasionally found on a rocky coast, it is most frequent on mud-flats and ooze and is very partial to estuaries where streams of fresh water run down from the land. It seldom wanders inland, but has been sometimes met with by rivers, lakes and reservoirs. It has been recorded on the shores of Lough Derg and on the banks of the Barrow, and during the latter half of August this year Major Ruttledge saw four on Lough Carra, Co. Mayo. I have seen it at Templeogue and Bohernabreena on the Dodder and on Loughmore, Limerick, while on several occasions in Co. Limerick, when after nightfall duck were flighting from the Shannon to their marshy feeding ground some miles inland, I have heard the distinctive call of Greenshanks amid the various notes of Wigeon and Teal, of Curlew, Redshank and Dunlin. When feeding it is commonly seen singly or in twos and threes, but while resting at high tide ten or a dozen may be found together.

The largest of the sandpipers, the Greenshank is bigger than the Redshank and greyer in colour, showing no white on the wing. The legs and feet are olive-green and the bill, which is slightly up-turned, is bluish-slate, horn at the tip. The lower back and tail are conspicuously white. In winter plumage it is a bird which can be readily distinguished at a distance, as it stands out clearly among other waders by its silvery grey appearance. While feeding and in flight it utters a clear and characteristic triple note, " tchoo, tchoo, tchoo," each syllable being well stressed. It is a loud call and carries well in the estuaries amid a babel of Curlew, Oystercatcher and Redshank notes. The flight is rapid, often rather twisting and erratic, with occasional nose-dives, but sometimes quite direct. Though alert enough, the Greenshank has little of the nervous bobbing action of the Redshank. It feeds by picking and probing, often

wading rapidly through shallow water with neck outstretched and bill submerged in pursuit of small fish. I have seen it feeding in water after the manner of the Avocet with side-to-side motion of the bill.

The Greenshank is an attractive bird and a general favourite among naturalists. Bird watchers who seek the solitude of the salt marshes and estuaries tell of their delight in hearing the music of its triple call, in seeing the elegance of its form and subdued colours and in observing the sprightliness of its behaviour.

This wader breeds in northern Scotland in limited numbers, and in northern Europe and Asia. It winters from the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, northern India, China and Japan south to the Cape, Ceylon, Tasmania and New Zealand. Many are said on migration to cross Scotland from east to west and, including some of those bred in Scotland, to proceed to Ireland. One ringed as a young bird in Sutherland in June was recovered in Co. Cork in October. Arrivals in Ireland have several times been recorded as early as mid-June. Warren says it is one of the earliest of the waders to return from its breeding haunts, appearing occasionally on the Mayo coast at the end of June or early July, and Dr. Patton writes that he has frequently seen small gatherings during June and July on the slob-lands of the Dublin coast, while in recent years Major Ruttledge has found birds frequenting the Galway coast from early July. For some weeks after their arrival they are said to keep together in flocks but afterwards to scatter round the coast in little groups. There is no evidence that the Greenshank has ever bred in Ireland.

THE RINGED PLOVER.—From autumn to spring, wherever there are sandy or muddy shores, the Ringed Plover is one of the most numerous and widely distributed of the small waders, while it may be seen at all seasons of the year. It is also found inland on migration by rivers and lakes, less frequently during the winter. It breeds in every maritime county and on many islands round the coast as well as inland by the larger lakes and in some marshes in Leix. The spring passage is well marked from early April to the end of May or early June and the return journey from early August onward to November. The autumn migrants probably come from the continent and northern Britain, but so far only one bird ringed as a nestling in Cumberland has been recovered in Ireland during the winter.

The Ringed Plover is a handsome little wader, of robust build, boldly marked black and white on the head, with a white collar and a black gorget broad in front narrow behind. The crown and back are brown and the under-parts are white. The head markings are particularly striking. The forehead is white, and behind it is a black band passing across the top of the head from one eye to the other. Another black band passes from the bill backwards under the eye. A schoolboy once, on

eeing the bird for the first time and noticing these head markings, cried ut: "It is wearing a scrum-cap." A well defined wing-bar is seen in light. The legs are orange-yellow and the bill is orange at the base and lack at the tip. The bird shows up well on mud or grass, but on a shingle hore it is very effectively camouflaged by the black and white pattern of he head and by the drab brown back; and, except for its habit of running few paces and calling every now and then, it would often pass unnoticed. The ordinary note when it is alarmed or disturbed is a melodious, liquid tooi," so distinctive that it is quite sufficient for identification of the ird.

On mud-flats and sand the Ringed Plover, like the larger Grey Plover, as the habit of standing still with head erect and turned a little to one ide, as if listening to catch a distant sound. But the real object of this ttitude is more likely to inspect the immediate vicinity for a possible and-worm. It feeds deliberately, with none of the feverish haste of the Sanderling and none of the purposeful probing of the Dunlin. It stands rect, runs a few paces, stoops to pick up something from the ground nd lifts up its head again, as if to display its white collar and black gorget. The mud-flats of an estuary at ebb-tide are no longer dreary and ugly when from fifty to one hundred Ringed Plover in loose formation are feeding thus, all facing the sun, moving forward with easy grace and showing forth their colours even to the orange of their legs which twinkle for an instant when they run. A sociable bird, it freely forms into flocks to await the turn of the tide or, in parties of various sizes, united with flocks of Knot, Dunlin or Sanderling. It will associate with other small waders in flight evolutions, in which it is as expert as any. Dr. Patton in his *Aquatic Birds* tells of watching a flock of small birds which flew in from the sea, turned as at a word of command, opened out at the water's edge and after a momentary pause shot downwards with a swooping action to rest or feed on the sand. It was not until he had turned his glasses on the birds that he saw the flock was composed of Ringed Plover and Dunlin. And yet skilful as it is in these concerted movements in the air, the Ringed Plover indulges in them less frequently and generally in smaller numbers than many other species.

Near the sea it nests on low-lying sandy shores and estuaries, in shingle beds and sometimes in sand dunes. I have seen a nest on the fairway of a sea-side golf links, where happily it escaped accident and hatched out successfully. Inland it nests on the shingle shores and grassy borders of lakes, and in the marshes where it breeds on patches of gravel or dried mud. The nest varies considerably. Sometimes it is a mere hollow in the sand or turf, often quite open, less frequently sheltered by growing plants. Sometimes quite substantial nests may be met with, built of bents or other plants. On sand and shingle the nest may be made of small stones with pieces of cockle shells in the hollow. The eggs, generally four,

sometimes three, are pear-shaped and large for the size of the bird, with the ground colour, often stone-buff, ranging from bluish-grey to reddish-yellow and with brown-black and ashy-grey spots. Both sexes incubate, frequently changing over. At the early stages the sitting bird is easily disturbed from the nest, but when the hatching is nearly completed it sits more closely. The young leave the nest soon after hatching and are attended by both parents. At this stage the parents often indulge in " injury-feigning "—a favourite trick of many species to draw intruders away from their eggs or young. A Ringed Plover will scuttle along the shore with head lowered, tail depressed and spread and wings fluttering, as if unable to fly. It will at times lie on its side with one wing waving in the air, apparently in its last agony. But if the unwary observer tries to pick it up, it will stagger out of reach only to repeat the same action until a safe distance has been covered. It will then take wing and fly away quite vigorously. Meanwhile the young will have taken cover, and searching for a nestling Plover will prove as fruitless as looking for the proverbial needle.

THE KENTISH PLOVER.—The Kentish Plover has very rarely visited this country. Four or five have been obtained in autumn and winter on the Dublin coast, but none more recently than 1852. A male obtained on the North Bull Island is in the National Museum.

It is a smaller and a slighter bird than the Ringed Plover, but is not unlike that species in the general pattern of its plumage. It may, however, be distinguished by its blackish legs and feet and by its less extensive and fainter black markings—the black gorget of the Ringed Plover being represented merely by an obscure blackish patch on the sides of the breast.

It is quite possible that this bird has often escaped notice in this country. It is not worth the while of fowlers to shoot so small a bird. And bird watchers, not expecting to find a rarity and not looking very closely, might easily pass it by for a Ringed Plover. And yet for one acquainted with the Ringed Plover it is not difficult to identify a Kentish Plover. When Mr. P. E. Dunn and I saw one for the first time on the Island of Texel, Holland, we at once recognized the species. Later, on another part of the island we saw other birds and watched a flock both in flight and while feeding, when their behaviour was very like that of the common species.

The Kentish Plover is a summer migrant to the south of England, especially to Kent and Sussex, where it breeds in limited numbers. It winters throughout Africa, in India, Ceylon, Burma, South China and Japan.

P. G. KENNEDY

REVIEWS

Apologetics

A CRITIC LOOKS AT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By H. A. Johnston, S.J. Melbourne: Messenger of the Sacred Heart. 1944. 3s. 6d.

The only reasonable criterion by which to judge any piece of writing is to see, first, what it sets out to do and, secondly, how successfully it does it. If the purpose be good in itself and the execution of it equal to the occasion, it is the duty of the critic to approve—and to do so without any irritating and irrelevant reserves intended only to demonstrate how much more perfectly the critic could have accomplished the writer's task if only he had the mind. Applying this criterion to Fr. Johnston's slender volume, I have no hesitation in declaring that the purpose is admirable and the accomplishment of it as satisfactory as we can hope for in an imperfect world.

The purpose is limited and strictly defined by the circumstances. Fr. Johnston was one of those invited to speak over the Melbourne radio during the weekly hour allotted by the radio authorities to specifically Catholic topics. He chose, very rightly, a theme almost dictated by the fact that, even in the supreme crisis of our Christian civilisation, certain "Anglican divines" (particularly a Canon Maynard of High Church affiliations) had seemingly conceived it helpful to Australia, in its struggle for survival, to renew old controversies with Rome—still deemed more dangerous to the fellowship of faith than the Mikado. It must have been wonderfully helpful to those gallant Australian boys who had to face the hazards of the campaigns in Borneo and New Guinea to have one dogma to cling to in the dark night of the soul—namely, that whatever else was true or false, Rome was wrong!

But Fr. Johnston had the temerity to think that the dogma was false and the spiritual profit to be derived from it doubtful. So he crossed swords with the Canon, and the substance of his *ripostes* constitutes the contents of this volume. It follows that his work is controversial. For many this will mean that it must be considered either futile or positively noxious. We are told that controversy converts no one and does no good. Bellarmine must, accordingly, be accounted to have wasted the time spent in writing *The Controversies*—and only to have repaired the mistake by his Catechism and his ascetical works! This widespread attitude has much to answer for. It is in flat contradiction with the tradition of the Church from Justin and Irenaeus down to Newman and Chesterton. Our author meets it in his Introduction by explaining why he speaks and the principles guiding him. This last is so well done that it deserves citation:—

"I do not complain that it [Canon Maynard's book] attacks the Catholic Church. The point is whether it is reasonable and based on facts. That is what we have to determine. . . . My object simply is that, through the discussion of certain statements and arguments which have been put forward, the truth may appear more lucidly and with more certainty, and that thus the cause of religious harmony may be advanced. . . . I put forward certain facts and suggest what I think is the logical conclusion from them. But the reader will be given the means of checking the facts and judging whether the conclusions are justified or not. . . . While I speak clearly and emphatically because I think the occasion demands it, I wish it to be understood that I am concerned with logical processes and not with personalities. I hope I can challenge a man's arguments and facts without being accused of insulting him . . . He may think it his duty to attack us; we have a right to ask that the attacks be reasonable."

It would be difficult to improve on these words as a *mise-en-scène* for the chapters

that follow. Fr. Johnston is entirely faithful to his promises. He writes lucidly, cogently, forcibly, but with impeccable courtesy. He is only unfair in the sense that he does most obviously knock his adversary clean out of the ring. But as he was only taking up a challenge rather noisily made by the adversary, that can hardly be called a violation of the Queensberry Rules. Kipling tells his Tommies in *Barrack-Room Ballads*: "If you want to win your battles, take and fight your bloomin' guns." Fr. Johnston "fights his bloomin' guns" with direful efficiency and wins his battles, one and all.

They are for the most part the old battles of this wearisome debate. Canon Maynard would seem to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The Malines Conference might never have taken place; such recent High Church Anglican works as Jalland's *St. Leo the Great* and *The Church and the Papacy* might never have been written for all the appreciation Canon Maynard shows of how profoundly the *status quaestionis* has been altered since Littledale wrote his *Plain Reasons*. If Fr. Johnston halts his wild charging drastically and from afar, it is because he has more up-to-date weapons and uses them with the precision of a highly-trained expert.

Yet, though the topics are not new, the treatment is fresh, not merely in the manner—all the author's own—but in the matter. Even specialists in apologetics will find a surprising amount of information, documentation and original viewpoints within the covers of this unpretentious brochure—which is, no doubt, primarily directed towards Australian readers, but has universal validity. Canon Maynards abound even yet everywhere, though their number is diminishing very rapidly; and they do still hamstring the Christian effort to salvage something from the ruins men have made. "It is hard to be patient," says Newman, "with gratuitous absurdity"—doubly hard when time and tide have made the absurdity not only gratuitous but manifest. Discord among Christians now is like the prolongation of a family feud about the title-deeds to a mansion in flames from cellar to roof. Still, if the faith is attacked, it must be defended just as stoutly against "quislings" from within as against Death's Head Huzzars from without. Here compromise is not "eirenics"; it is treason to the common cause. If in the encounter well-meaning but woolly-witted heads get cracked, the only answer is that the owners of such heads should keep away from Armageddon and dig shelters for themselves to resist the atomic bomb. We can say to them with Horace: *Sed nunc non erat his locus*—or, with Scripture, *Terga vertunt in die belli.* P. J. Gannon

THE DIVINE PITY. A Study in the Social Implications of the Beatitudes. By Gerald Vann, O.P. London: Sheed and Ward. 1945. 8s. 6d.

The two classical Patristic commentaries on the Beatitudes are those of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. St. Ambrose comments on the text of St. Luke and connects the four beatitudes there enumerated with the moral virtues. St. Augustine takes the text of St. Matthew and relates the first seven beatitudes to the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost in the inverse order to that of the book of Isaiah. The eighth beatitude, as St. Thomas explains in his further development of this Augustinian scheme, can be regarded as *quaedam confirmatio et manifestatio praecedentium omnium*. Father Vann's book, to which he has given the sub-title of "A Study on the Social Implications of the Beatitudes," is a free commentary on the articles of the Summa. Each chapter treats of one of the beatitudes and has sub-sections dealing with the corresponding Gift and Sacrament. Within the Thomistic framework the author aims at presenting a conspectus of the spiritual life, based on the beatitudes and adapted to modern times. That is not to suggest in the least that there is any watering-down of doctrine; far from it. But there is a conscious and,

on the whole, successful effort to show, in the light of the Sermon on the Mount, the emptiness of the modern *vita voluptuosa* and to point the way to the fullness of real happiness.

As befits a book on the beatitudes, the whole tone of *The Divine Pity* is joyous and positive. There is no shrinking from the law of detachment, of mortification, of the expropriation of the self. But these laws are shown to be only in a narrow sense negative. The man who is poor in spirit really cares for things more than the miser. The man who is detached has reverence, a virtue whose praises are sung by Father Vann on almost every page. Its loss it is that has most corrupted the age in which we live. " Surely it is this idea of reverential awe as an element in the religion of love that we should teach the young, and not the negative religion of fear alone." Surely, indeed. " To be intemperate is to be a destroyer. But to be temperate is not to destroy, but to fulfil. It is not to destroy passion or the delight of the senses in material things, but to fulfil them by fulfilling their nature. You do not love less, but more, when your passion is ordered and controlled by reverence ; for then it is glorified and intensified by being the vehicle of the life and power of the Spirit ; and you turn it into what, of its very nature, it is intended to be : an organic element in the total process of enlargement of the whole body-spirit, a means to the forging of the oneness of two beings, and a part of the shared life of love and worship and service of God." How much more edifying and useful is such a treatment of sex than the negative and dangerous denunciations which only too often are a feature of pulpit oratory. Readers of Father Vann's previous books will not be surprised to find his chapters on marriage and on purity models of their kind.

We regret only one section in this inspiring book ; and that is the section dealing with " the technique of our journey to God ". Any one at all experienced in the ways of the spirit and in dealing with souls will agree with Father Vann that " it would be terrible to try to force oneself to obey an unsuitable technique, evolved in a particular period, under the impression that it was the one and only path to perfection ". Nor is it so much that we are irritated by references such as the following : " more or less elaborate mechanism . . . . studied elaboration . . . . air of scientific and self-conscious technique . . . . chilly atmosphere of formalism and restraint . . . . sections and sub-sections . . . . rigid framework." This is caricature, not portraiture, and one may reasonably expect the skilled reader to recognise the genre. Also, the sad aberrations in prayer caused by unwise application of " methods " need condemnation. Meditation-books at times do damage souls. But the whole tone of the author's comments betrays a surprising lack of understanding for " this sort of method " (he does not give it a name) ; and there is a clear *sous-entendu* that " this product of a particular period to which it was suited " cuts a very sorry figure in twentieth-century dress, even though " some " may still find it necessary. The good-humoured, if rather methodical, saint who is here indirectly pilloried would be amused to find the alternative way suggested by Father Vann so very like his own. " The older way consisted in the use of a book to turn the mind and heart to God and make prayer easy : and the use of the book accordingly ceased when, and for as long as, its purpose was fulfilled." And the " modern " way :" In the point in which I find what I want, there I will rest, without anxiety to advance further until I am satisfied." Or again, " the second method of prayer is that the person, kneeling or sitting as he may find himself more disposed and as greater devotion accompanies him—keeping his eyes shut or fixed on one place—says *Father*, and rests on the consideration of this word for so long a time as he finds meanings, comparisons, relish and consolation." There is nothing wooden or formal about this advice from the Father of " modern methods," and it is essential to an understanding of his system.

For all else that Father Vann has to say on prayer one can only be grateful. There are many mansions. The prayer of filial reverence, the prayer of petition, the prayer of sorrow, the prayer of wonder and gratitude, the prayer of union—all these are so many windows of the soul giving on God and the things of God in the world, and Father Vann throws them generously open.

Throughout the entire book, the place of the individual in the family—and in the greater families of humanity, the state and the church—is kept constantly in mind. For " within the church, the great danger we have to fight against is the danger of a self-centred piety which neglects its duties to the world ". It would be tragic for the world if we were to acquiesce in Renan's description of Christianity : " Une religion faite pour la consolation intérieure d'un tout petit nombre d'élus." It will not be Father Vann's fault if we do so. He insists that we are stewards and apostles with a debt to pay to all men ; that a social conscience is not something merely added on to a Christian conscience but something essential to Christian life and conduct.

This is a book to re-read. Not merely because it is a good book, but also because, its scope being so vast and its style so urgent, a first reading of it leaves one rather breathless. Impressions are apt to be somewhat blurred after a non-stop journey over a continent. Clarity and appreciation can come only by taking a slow train and stopping off at places on the way—which comes to saying, I suppose, that Father Vann's book needs to be meditated upon. It is also worth it.

D. O'S.

Biography

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. Centenary Essays. London and Dublin : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1945. 10s. 6d.

This collection of essays is sponsored by Father Henry Tristram of the Oratory, a life-long student and admirer of Newman. In his introduction he records some remarkable impressions of Newman's personality from such men as J. A. Froude, Mark Pattison, Dean Church, R. H. Hutton, E. W. Benson, and Dr. Hort, none of them Catholics. These men for the most part saw him occasionally and at a distance ; but the devotion of those who lived closest to him, his brethren of the Oratory, was even warmer and no less reverent. They have kept to this day his room arranged exactly as he left it on the day of his death in 1889. Dr. Denis Gwynn then contributes an outline of the Cardinal's life which, based as it is on very thorough study, is more than a mere chronicle. He makes some important points. There is no evidence whatever for the suggestion that Newman was of Jewish ancestry. He was English on his father's side, French Huguenot on his mother's. The writer brings out well from how great a distance away Newman gradually came to Catholicism. He wrote in 1833 : " As to the Roman Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it." Another interesting point dwelt upon is the great part played by friendship throughout his life. Some of his early friends, though they did not follow him, remained friends to the end. Most of all does Dr. Gwynn bring clearly into the light the many disappointments and failures, the many *déboires*, which were his lot during a considerable period of his career—the Achilli trial, the Catholic University episode in Ireland, the translation of the Scriptures which he was to have made, the affair of *The Rambler*, the determined hostility of Manning and Ward, the slanders of Kingsley, the difficulties over the Vatican Council. He was 80 when Rome gave its supreme approval with the Cardinalate and when he could say : " The cloud has lifted from me for ever."

Dr. H. Francis Davis, Vice-President of Oscott, then defends Newman's

Catholicism against a mass of misrepresentation. " The whole of Newman's intellectual life was saturated with Catholicism." Yet writers fancied they found in him likenesses to Kant, Hegel, Darwin, Schopenhauer, de Lamennais, Loisy, Tyrrell, Browning, and Renan. The modernists claimed him as father and founder of what Dr. Davis describes as " a system which pretended to be nothing but culture and enlightenment, whereas it is now clearly seen to be a complete reversion to paganism, a denial of the supernatural, a rejection of revelation in the Catholic sense of the word, and an overthrowing of the whole historical basis of the Church " (p. 47). Here Ireland rendered a great service to Newman's memory, for it was in an answer to a petition of Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, that Pope Pius X declared that in Newman's writings " nothing can be found which would arouse any suspicion of his faith ". Then Dr. Davis deals with the many attempts to account for Newman's conversion as motived by any reason on earth other than intellectual conviction of the truth. Naturally he has been psychoanalysed, by few more misleadingly than by the Abbé Bremond's fantastic travesty, translated into English as *The Mystery of Newman*. A book which its author later regretted. This is followed by a valuable survey of tributes to Newman by Catholic writers in many countries. Another essay deals with one particular way of misrepresenting Newman, the attempt to sentimentalize him, to picture him as nervous, sensitive, feminine, etc. Mr. F. V. Reade has no difficulty in quoting from the works of Newman passages in which he shows himself critical, satirical, vigorous, even vehement—anything but sentimental.

The title of Mr. Christopher Hollis's essay " Newman and Dean Church " might lead us to expect the narration of a particular incident or episode. In reality it is a brilliant presentation of certain aspects of Newman's personality. Similarly Mr. Douglas Woodruffe's " Newman and the Modern Age " might lead some readers to expect an attempt to show how really modern Newman was. Whereas it is an indictment of the modern age for all that in its mentality and outlook, especially in the sphere of education, is as unNewmanlike as it is false. Newman saw in his times the sowing of those seeds which in our times have sprung up into such evil flower and fruit.

Father Tristram in " With Newman at Prayer " depicts for us that side of the great convert and Oratorian that was almost hidden from the world, his holiness. It leaves us in no doubt that the term saintly can be properly applied to him. There was his life-long, utter dependence on God, his humility, his great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Rosary, above all his unworldliness. In that beautiful volume, published after his death, *Meditations and Devotions of Cardinal Newman*, we see something of his inner life. He tells us elsewhere that he learned the ways of prayer from the " three great masters of Christian teaching, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, and St. Ignatius ". St. Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory, was the focal point at which these great influences met. In one of his *Sermons on Various Occasions* he writes :—

" An earnest enforcement of interior religion, a jealousy of formal ceremonies, an insistence on obedience rather than sacrifice, on mental discipline rather than fasting or hair-shirt, . . . that illumination and freedom of spirit which comes of love ; further a mild and tender rule for the Confessional ; frequent confessions, frequent communions, special devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament, these are the peculiarities of a special school in the Church, and St. Ignatius and St. Philip are masters in it."

The last essay, again by Father Tristram, " On Reading Newman," should on no account be passed over. It is a review of the *corpus* of his published works with many useful suggestions.

Besides all the foregoing we have within the covers of this book studies of

Newman as Vicar of St. Mary's, of his early controversy with the Abbé Jager, of his Essay on Poetry, of his style, and of his social philosophy. Truly a veritable feast of Newmaniana. S. J. B.

THOMAS DAVIS: Essays and Poems with a Centenary Memoir. Dublin: Gill. 1945. 7s. 6d.

It is right and proper that the centenary year of Davis's death should see a fresh edition of at least a selection from his writings. Messrs. Gill had already produced one for the centenary of his birth, in 1914, with a preface by Arthur Griffith. The present edition has a Foreword from the pen of the Taoiseach. It is a pity that Arthur Griffith's preface was not included; not only as an appreciation, but as a document in its own right, coming from a man who could reasonably claim to have been Davis's best successor, it has a special value. The Centenary Memoir prefixed to the present volume is good and informative, but hardly critical enough. Such questions as the sources from which Davis derived his ideas or the influence on him of English and European writers, for example, are hardly touched on.

The purpose of the book is frankly propagandist, and is admitted to be such in the Foreword: present-day young Irishmen are encouraged to learn these poems and essays by heart and to derive from them an ever-present incentive to noble action. It is a worthy purpose, but care has to be taken in pursuing it. The time is, or ought to be, past for feeding the youth of Ireland on a kind of "synthetic history" of the recent past of their country. Here, for instance, we find the old criticism of O'Connell for what is called "the Clontarf defeat," and a highly partisan version is given of the scene between O'Connell and Davis in Conciliation Hall. It is no service to the youth of Ireland to propagate discredit of the greatest political figure Ireland has ever produced.

The editing of Davis's work has been done with some care; for instance, the reference to "the Fusians" in his essay on "Our National Language" has at last been corrected, and one notices with a certain surprise that the name of Hackett of Dungarvan has been deleted from *The Sack of Baltimore*, on grounds which might be more convincingly stated. It would have been well to have added to the Essays on Kane's "Industrial Resources" a reference to the valuable booklet "The Natural Resources of Ireland" published last year by the Royal Dublin Society. T.

Celtica

THE IRISH OF WEST MUSKERRY, CO. CORK. A Phonetic Study. By Brian Ó Cuív. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. xi+159 pp. 5s.

THE IRISH OF COIS FHAIRRGE, CO. GALWAY. A Phonetic Study. By Tomás de Bhaldraithe. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. xii+152 pp. 5s.

The need for organized scientific investigation of Irish dialects has long been recognized. Up to quite recently, however, this urgent and important work was nobody's business—with the result that, while there were sporadic bursts of activity, little systematic progress was made. Irish dialectology on the whole attracted few skilled investigators; and such as it did attract, unfortunately confined their attention almost exclusively to the comparatively sterile field of phonetics. It was literally a case of *vox et praeterea nihil.*

When in 1941 the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies was set up and was given statutory authority to undertake the study of Irish dialects, it was confidently expected that in the course of a few years a team of trained workers would have

ommenced to investigate, record, and study not only the phonetics but, more nportant still, the accidence, syntax, idiomatic usage, and vocabulary of every ariety of living Irish. The first welcome signs of serious intentions in this regard n the part of the Institute are two phonetic studies, *The Irish of West Muskerry* y Mr. Brian Ó Cuív and *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge* by Dr. Tomás de Bhaldraithe.

Both of these expert investigators base their phonetic description on the system ollowed by the English school of phoneticians. The main principles underlying his system, now for the first time applied to Irish speech, are ably—and wisely—ummarized from Professor Daniel Jones's *An Outline of English Phonetics* by Mr. Ó Cuív in an introductory chapter to *The Irish of Muskerry*. Apart from the use f the phonemic method in a modified form, little else in connection with the rrangement and description of the phonetic phenomena dealt with in Part I of he studies calls for comment. Both, as might be expected, treat fully of the ronunciation of vowels, diphthongs, consonants, and glides; other matters—uch as nasalization, sandhi, elision, syllable division, stress, and intonation—are xpertly discussed; and the sound-picture of each dialect is rounded off with a election of texts.

Admittedly such detailed and highly technical description of the acoustic ualities and organic formation of the sounds of human speech makes these studies ard going for the non-phonetician. If he persists to the end of Part I, however, is patience will be rewarded in Part II. Here Mr. Ó Cuív and Dr. de Bhaldraithe, aking classical Early Modern Irish as the starting-point, set themselves the task f supplementing (to quote the former) 'the information given in Part I as to the resent-day sounds and their usage, with a brief outline of the phonetic developments which have brought about these sounds'. The work of both investigators in this onnection is at once a solid contribution to the study of the phonological development f the language in its later stages and a measure of the advance their books represent in Irish dialectology.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Ó Cuív and Dr. de Bhaldraithe will follow up their indispensable phonetic studies of the dialects of West Muskerry and Cois Fhairrge with grammatical studies of the same high standard. R. A. B.

Classics

PAIDEIA: The Ideals of Greek Culture. By Werner Jaeger. Volume Three. Translated by Professor Gilbert Highet. Oxford: Blackwell. 1945. 22s. 6d.

ARISTOTLE'S CRITICISM OF PLATO AND THE ACADEMY. Vol. I. By Harold Cherniss. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Milford. 1944. 33s. 6d. ($5.00).

The latest volume of Dr. Jaeger's great work is in many respects the most interesting and important of the series. In Volume II he brought his history of Greek cultural ideals down to the appearance of Plato's *Republic*. The first chapter of the present book is a digression from the main theme, a little after the manner of Plato himself. It deals very thoroughly with the contribution of medical theory to the development of paideia, and shows how vital that contribution was. Some of the material in this chapter had already been utilised by Dr. Jaeger in his *Diokles von Karystos*, which appeared in 1938. Here he supplements this material by a survey of the most important medical writings of the classical period, from the treatises attributed to Hippocrates himself down to the very interesting essay *On Diet*, which he dates to the middle of the fourth century B.C. As in modern, so in ancient times, medicine was from its first Greek origins a model of specialised as opposed to general culture,

and Dr. Jaeger shows what a part it played in causing the distinction between them to be first formulated. In Greece the science managed to acquire for itself a place in ordinary higher education which, owing to specialisation, it has long since lost. Students of medical history will find something to arouse their interest in every page of this masterly chapter.

From medicine Dr. Jaeger passes on to rhetoric, and his next five chapters deal very fully with the career and teaching of Isocrates. From the purely philological point of view, perhaps the most important of these chapters is the fifth, in which a new dating (before 357 instead of after 355) is proposed for the *Areopagiticus*. By this means a fresh basis is gained for studying the development in the thought of Isocrates. In his *Panegyricus* of 380 he had called for the restoration of Athenian naval power; in his *Peace* of about 354 he says that naval empire was the beginning of all evil for Athens. This was after the second Athenian League had collapsed. The *Areopagiticus*, which still advocates the maintenance of sea-power, must date from before the Social War in which the collapse began. There is a curious return in the *Peace* oration to a type of thought which was common among the well-to-do Athenian landowners and farmers in the fifth century. A little later, Isocrates was to devote much space in his *Antidosis* to a defence of his pupil Timotheos, whose policy bore a close resemblance to that of the fifth-century conservatives. Dr. Jaeger unravels this development and, with singular skill, relates it to the great teacher's educational doctrine.

Isocrates is for us overshadowed by the supreme genius of Plato, but few men have so influenced European thought. He was the first to systematise the kind of semi-philosophic general education through literature which remains the central work of the modern University, and through Cicero he may almost claim to be the founder of the art of European prose-writing. Dr. Jaeger throws new light on his relations with the successors of Socrates (whom he so curiously called " Sophists " as they did him) and shows that, in spite of their apparently violent opposition, they drew closer in many ways even in his lifetime. Another of his contributions to culture was the great importance he attached to history, which he may be said to have introduced to the curriculum, and on succeeding writers of which his influence was rather too profound. Without him, for example, Livy and Tacitus would never have written as they did.

After a sympathetic, penetrating and suggestive study of Xenophon, whose long-neglected *Cyropaedia* (*Paideia* of Cyrus) receives a new importance from his treatment, Dr. Jaeger returns to Plato's later work. His eighth chapter is devoted to the *Phaedrus*, a book which has long puzzled students of Plato. Here it is conclusively shown to be much later than the *Symposium*, with which it used to be coupled, and also later than the *Republic*. It can be understood, says Dr. Jaeger, " only as a new stage in Plato's developing attitude to rhetoric ". Through it, in effect, we see how rhetoric entered into the curriculum of the Academy, and its famous compliment to the youthful Isocrates indicates a recognition of the latter's real achievement by Plato at a time when both were old. The longest chapter in this volume is that on Plato's *Laws*. It shows how the consequence of his Sicilian experience (which also gets a chapter) from the educational point of view was to induce him to make room in his State for a new method of *popular* education from infancy to maturity, as distinct from the *philosophical* education of the *Republic*. Here again Dr. Jaeger has opened a fascinating new line of approach. His last chapter is a resumé of his brilliant defence of Demosthenes in his Sather Classical Lectures for 1938. If the inclusion of the great orator as a teacher strikes us as rather a *tour de force*, we must agree that it is amply justified by the sparkling freshness of this essay, in which the harmony as well as the bitterness of Athenian glory in its last phase is worthily displayed.

Dr. Jaeger writes for everyone interested in culture; Dr. Cherniss addresses himself purely to the most hardened specialists. It is curious that up to now we have never had an exhaustive examination of the many passages in which Aristotle criticises the doctrines of his master. The nearest approach to it is in Robin's *Théorie Platonicienne des Idées et des Nombres d'après Aristote*, published in 1908, but this has the defect of confining itself to Aristotle and eschewing all commentary on Plato's own text. Dr. Cherniss here follows up his previous work on Aristotle's criticism of Pre-Socratic philosophy on a similar scale. His three chapters deal respectively with Diaeresis, Definition, and Demonstration, the Material Substrate, and Form and its relation to Matter, and are followed by eleven long appendices on points of detail, making in all a volume of six hundred and ten pages, which will be indispensable to future students of works like the *Timaeus*, the *Physics*, and the *Metaphysics*.

M. T.

THE LATE LATIN VOCABULARY OF THE VARIAE OF CASSIODORUS. By Odo John Zimmermann, O.S.B., M.A. Washington: Catholic University of America. 1944. pp. xx+277.

THE need for good books in English on the Patristic and Medieval periods is widely felt, and the Catholic University of America is to be congratulated on its efforts to supply that need. One cannot but be envious of the money and material facilities which have allowed Dr. Deferrari and his confrères to bring out so many volumes in such a relatively short time as twenty years. The format, printing and scientific method of each book leaves little to be desired. Here there is an opportunity of impressing non-Catholic scholars who too often, especially in the English-speaking world, have scant respect for Catholic work.

It is a pity that Dr. Zimmermann should have given so slender an introduction to his book. He tells us practically nothing of Cassiodorus or the *Variae*. And yet Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator is of considerable importance as a typical public official of his period, as an historian and as a person.

Cassiodorus was born about A.D. 490 and lived for over ninety years. His long life covers a critical period in the history of the Gothic administration of Italy. He held office under Theodoric, Amalaswintha, Theodahadus, and Witiges, until in A.D. 540 Witiges was taken prisoner by Belisarius. During his public career Cassiodorus wrote panegyrics; a chronicle dedicated to Eutharic, Theodoric's son-in-law, in which he shows himself to be a great supporter of the ruling power; a "History of the Goths," of which we have only the abridgement edited by Jornandes; and finally the *Variae* published at the close of A.D. 537, a series of letters arranged in twelve books, to which he added after A.D. 540 a little treatise "de anima". The letters are of great historical importance, but the author omitted even dates, names and events rather than risk offending either Goths, Romans or Byzantines, or interrupt the elegant flow of his obscure style. Books VI and VII are a mere collection of letters which could be used on certain public occasions.

About 540 Cassiodorus founded at Vivarium on his own Calabrian estate a monastery in imitation of that founded by St. Benedict at Monte Cassino. He differed from St. Benedict in one particular: he deliberately encouraged intellectual work among his followers. (Later, of course, the Benedictines were outstanding in this field). Accordingly we have the fruit of those years of work in his theological commentaries and treatises, but particularly in the well-known "Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum". He was one of those who, following St. Augustine, laboured to effect the reconciliation of the Ancient and the Christian views of life.

The vocabulary of the *Variae* forms the subject of the present study. Separate

treatment is given to neologisms, words of foreign origin, Late Latin words and meanings, words to which Cassiodorus gave a new meaning, and technical words of administration. A careful analysis of certain selected sections of Dr. Zimmermann's book yields, if little enlightenment, at least no obvious blunders. The indices are good and should prove of some use to the scholars of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae when, if ever, they resume their unfinished and, as Dr. Zimmermann found, valuable work.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

HISTORY

THE CIVIL SURVEY, A.D. 1654-1656. Vol. VII. County of Dublin. Prepared for publication by Robert C. Simington. (Irish MSS. Commission) Dublin: Stationery Office. 1945. 42s.

MR. SIMINGTON has been an unusually patient and productive worker during the past fifteen years. The first volume of this very useful edition of the Civil Survey (or what survives of it to-day) appeared in 1931. Since that date the following counties have been covered by the volumes which he has edited: Tipperary (2 vols.); Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone (1 vol.); Meath; Limerick; Waterford, with one barony of Cork and Kilkenny city (1 vol.); and now Dublin. There remain two counties (Kildare and Wexford) to complete the series.

The history of this Civil Survey has been told by Mr. Simington and the late Mr. M. J. McEnery in an Introduction which has been repeated, without change, in each volume of this series. Mr. McEnery's account of its more recent history needs no further comment, though it is perhaps well to remind our readers of the debt that Irish scholars owe to the intelligence of a few highly trained Civil Servants. The original set of these volumes (which included the surveys of seventeen counties, now wholly lost) perished in a fire which destroyed the Surveyor General's Office in 1711. In 1817 a partial set of copies was discovered in the library of Viscount Headford at Kells, and these volumes were purchased for the Quit Rent Office in 1837. Between 1900 and 1910 a full copy of this series was made by the officials of the Public Record Office, and these copies were then deposited in the Quit Rent Office, whilst the Headford volumes (from which this copy had been made) were transferred for greater security to the Public Record Office. They were lost for ever in 1921. The copies that had been made in 1900-10 are thus the only surviving volumes to-day; and it was Mr. Simington who drew the attention of the Irish MSS. Commission to the existence of these valuable source-books. He was very rightly entrusted with the charge of preparing the text for publication, and he is now approaching the end of his long task.

It is to be regretted that the Irish MSS. Commission has decided to reprint Mr. Simington's General Introduction, written in 1931, without change in each successive volume of the series. For the interest which the publication of these volumes has awakened in a half-forgotten Survey has led other scholars to examine the problem afresh. New light has been thrown on the history of this Survey by Professor R. D. Edwards in an important review of Vol. VI. which was published three years ago. It is a pity that the General Introduction has not been revised in view of this new information.

The Special Introduction, which fills pp. xiii—xxxvi of the volume, is a very useful piece of work. Mr. Simington here notes the more interesting features of this Dublin Survey, which was made in 1654. Interest will probably centre round his account of the fate of the " Cross Lands " or church lands, which were confiscated by an Act of the English Parliament of 8 March 1649-50. This Act ordained that all " honors, castles, lordships, manors, lands, revenues, rents and profits " which had belonged either to the Archbishop of Dublin or to the Dean or Dean and Chapter

of St. Patrick's, together with some lands that had belonged to the Bishop of Meath, should be " settled, established and vested . . . for the settling and maintenance of the College now in or near the city of Dublin, commonly called Trinity College ". This endowment of Trinity College from lands that had been so recently sequestrated from the Church of Ireland is a reminder that the College was perhaps the only Irish institution that benefited considerably from the Cromwellian regime in this country. Provost Mahaffy, in the last chapter of his very readable *Epoch in Irish History*, has given us an interesting account of the sudden revival in the fortunes of the College during these years. The Act of 1650 was the first sign of this new favour. The purchase of Ussher's great library for the College just before the Restoration was a further and more enduring mark of Puritan esteem. For the Acts of Settlement and Explanation gave back these sequestrated church-lands to the Established Church after the Restoration.

In its detailed survey of each parish in each barony, this volume throws a good deal of new light on such matters as the manorial courts of the Archbishop of Dublin. The information would be more complete, were it not for the unlucky fact that the Survey of the two baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross is now missing. Uppercross (beside Newcastle) and Nethercross (between Castleknock and Coolock) were the two main areas in which these " Cross Lands " were to be found. Mr. Simington has done his best to fill this lacuna by printing, as two Appendixes to this volume, extracts from the " Book of Reference " to the Down Survey and from the " Book of Survey and Distribution " for these two baronies. He has also collected some helpful references for those who wish to study the earlier history of the Archbishop's manorial jurisdiction in Co. Dublin. His own account is tantalisingly brief ; and I note that the great Augustinian monastery of Thomascourt is missing from his list of the Dublin religious houses which owned lands in the county.

Irish scholars have good reason to be grateful to the editor of these seven volumes for the mass of material which has thus been made available for further research. Each volume contains a good baronial map of the county ; but the absence of an index is a serious defect. Mr. Simington has also undertaken an edition of the surviving " Books of Survey and Distribution," which date from the Restoration period. We understand that two volumes of this series, for the counties of Roscommon and Mayo, will shortly be issued by the Irish MSS. Commission.

A. G.

JORDANI DE SAXONIA LIBER VITASFRATRUM. Edited by Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., Ph.D., and Winfrid Hümpfner, O.S.A., S.Th.D. (Cassiciacum : Studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order). Vol. I (American Series). New York : Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co. 1943. $7.50.

THE late Jesuit Cardinal Ehrle used to say to his Augustinian students in Rome : " Your writers are the most important of the fourteenth century ; but no one knows anything about them." Here is a fine volume of 548 pages, with an Introduction of 92 pages, which throws a flood of very welcome light on the German Augustinian Friars during the half century preceding the disaster of the Black Death—a disaster that wrought more widespread havoc in the Germanies than in almost any other land of Europe. This volume comes to us at a time when disaster of another kind has come once more upon the German lands. Fr. Arbesmann and Fr. Hümpfner were working in Germany before the war, with other members of their province, to fill in part the great gap indicated by Cardinal Ehrle, who had exceptionally keen insight into the problems of later medieval scholastic history. Hitler's attack on the religious orders of Germany scattered this small band of scholars, some of

whom are now in Rome ; others in the United States. The centre of their studies had been at Würzburg, and Allied bombers all but annihilated that lovely Bavarian city in the last fatal bombing of central Germany. Fr. Arbesmann, we are glad to note, has found congenial work as a professor in the Jesuit University of Fordham, whilst his colleague has been able to continue his researches into the early history of the Augustinian rule and other aspects of his order's history.

Jordan of Saxony, whose *Vitasfratrum* (a title borrowed in conscious imitation from an earlier Dominican collection) is here edited with a wealth of commentary and critical apparatus that does credit to the industry of the two editors, was a Friar Hermit of the Saxon-Thuringian province of his order from c. 1313 to his death at some unknown date after 1365. He was more than once elected to high office in his native province, and was Provincial before and after the calamity of the Black Death. A contemporary note lets us see him at work organising a public hospital at Heidersheim to meet the needs of his time ; as a young friar he himself had acted as infirmarian to his sick brethren. For the best years of his life he was active as preacher, teacher and consulting theologian in Germany ; he was also sent on special missions to France and Italy, a sure sign that he enjoyed the confidence of his brethren and superiors. His special aptitude for historical studies was revealed whilst he was still a young student at Erfurt, Bologna and Paris. He compiled his *Collectanea Augustiniana* and *Liber Vitasfratrum* in the intervals of more active work ; both works were undertaken and carried through as a labour of love.

Jordan had been working for several years on his commentary on the rule, the *Vitasfratrum*, when " Richard of Armagh " (Archbishop Richard FitzRalph) launched his unprecedently bold attack on the privileges of the mendicant friars in the winter of 1356, and appealed to the Pope at Avignon in 1357. A German friar, Thomas of Strassburg, had been acting as Prior General for the past twelve years (1345-56) ; but his place was taken by a more famous theologian, Gregory of Rimini, in 1357. Both Gregory and Jordan seem to have shared the view that Archbishop FitzRalph's attack was better countered by a more rigorous observance of the Rule of St. Augustine than by an unending series of polemical tracts. Fr. Hümpfner, who is responsible for the historical section of the Introduction to this volume, quotes a remarkable letter from the archives of the order in which, as Prior General, Gregory appeals to his brethren for a more exact observance of the ancient *Regula S. Augustini*. Jordan of Saxony hurriedly finished his *Vitasfratrum*, with its wealth of edifying anecdote, and handed his manuscript to the Prior General in 1357. Fr. Arbesmann, who is responsible for the critical study of the extant MSS. on which this text is based, has been able to demonstrate from a full survey of all the available material that our manuscripts fall into two main classes, each derived from a copy made in that same year. One group is characteristic of the German provinces, one of the Italian. There is no trace of Jordan's work in France, Spain or England. The Italian MSS. contain a passage in which Jordan's views on poverty and possession have been modified in accordance with the doctrines held by Grgeory of Rimini on these most controversial questions.

Having finished his work on the *Vitasfratrum*, Jordan of Saxony seems to have spent the last years of his life on the revision of his *Sermones de Tempore* and *Sermones de Sanctis* and on the composition of his very popular *Meditationes de Passione Christi*. Though inferior to his contemporary, the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony, in unction and attractive style, Jordan's work is unquestionably an impressive witness to the ancient Catholic pieties of medieval Germany. It is sad to reflect that the Saxon-Thuringian province, in which Jordan and so many other German friars found peace and inspiration, should have acquired a less enviable fame two centuries later as the *alma mater* of Martin Luther. Yet even in the sixteenth century, as recent investigations have disclosed, the German houses of the Augustinian Friars

were often notable for their earnest endeavours to remedy the abuses of the age. Jordan's *Vitasfratrum*, which had been consciously written for edification and instruction, must have been as familiar to Luther in his Catholic days as it certainly was to his more constant brethren. That Luther should have rejected the medieval traditions of his order as a false gospel of " good works " and should have substituted therefor a wrong-headed doctrine of justification by faith alone, with all its immediate and remote consequences for faith and morals, is perhaps the supreme tragedy of modern Europe.

I have not space for more than a few details. Jordan bases his doctrine for the most part on the *Regula S. Augustini* ; and the editors have very wisely included a critical text of this important Rule as an Appendix to their volume. Fr. Hümpfner, who here accepts the essential thesis of Fr. Mandonnet, O.P., is now preparing for the press a full discussion of the problems that arise from the complicated history of the primitive Augustinian rule. Since this rule is common to both Augustinian and Dominican Friars as well as to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, its interpretation concerns many whose religious lives are based on its precepts. But it has a wider interest. Recent research has raised in a new form the old problem of the sources of the *Regula S. Benedicti* ; and the Augustinian rule is undoubtedly older than the Benedictine. How far did Benedict borrow from Augustine ? What was the immediate purpose of these two great pioneers in monastic history ? New light, from every angle, will be welcome. The text here printed of the *Regula S. Augustini* is based on two ancient MSS., now in the safe custody of the Spanish Augustinian librarians of the Escorial ; but it has been collated with the text which Jordan of Saxony copied into his *Collectanea Augustiniana*, now preserved in a fourteenth-century MS. of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

In the course of his researches into the early history of his order Jordan came across a collection of twenty-three *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo* which were attributed to St. Augustine in the MSS. which he consulted. By bad luck for his reputation as a scholar (and Fr. Hümpfner has been able to show that he was seldom so uncritical) Jordan accepted these sermons as the authentic work of St. Augustine. His account of the origins of the Friars Hermits in the *Collectanea* and *Vitasfratrum* is vitiated by this fundamental error. Many modern scholars, aware of the obvious anachronisms in these spurious sermons, have assumed that the whole collection is a fourteenth-century forgery ; and some of them have suspected that Jordan forged the whole series with a view to strengthening his order's claim to the custody of St. Augustine's body at Pavia. This precious relic had been moved from Africa to Lombardy in the early Middle Ages. In 1327, when Jordan was a young *lector* in the convent at Erfurt, John XXII—who had good reason to be grateful to the Friars Hermits for their championship of papal claims against the heretics of his day—transferred the custody of the saint's body from the Canons Regular to the Friars Hermits. Jordan had already begun his work on the *Collectanea* at this date : inevitably he shared his order's point of view in the controversy that arose from the action of John XXII, though he was never involved in the bitter war of pamphleteering that went on for most of his lifetime. Those who are interested in this problem, which has never been finally settled, should note that Fr. Hümpfner here claims that he can prove (and means to do so in a later volume of this same series) that the *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo* were composed, not by a Friar Hermit of the fourteenth century, but by an earlier Benedictine controversialist who invented these spurious exhortations to a more austere eremitical life in the course of a dispute with the Canons Regular as to the rival traditions of Augustinian and Benedictine monachism. If this theory is supported by sufficient evidence, it will clear Jordan's reputation from the charge of deliberate forgery ; and will also throw unexpected light on the gradual evolution of the Augustinian tradition.

Fr. Hümpfner has gathered an immense amount of historical information from out-of-the-way sources of the fourteenth century, and has incorporated most of his learning in the elaborate commentary which follows the text in this fine volume. I note with pleasure that he has corrected me on a minor point (page 480), and has thus settled a difficulty which had confused me in my account of the dramatic vocation of a fourteenth-century English Friar Hermit. Fr. Arbesmann is responsible for the elaborate *apparatus criticus* which is printed beneath the text, and also for the identification of all the many sources and citations which occur in Jordan's text. Thirteen complete texts of the *Vitasfratrum*, with four smaller fragments, are extant. Fr. Arbesmann has identified two of the oldest manuscripts as dating from 1357—the year in which Jordan handed his autograph text to Gregory of Rimini. But he has found it necessary to examine the derivative texts in detail, and has thus been able to reconstruct a text which is as near to the lost autograph as we are ever likely to get. An *Index Auctorum* and *Index Nominum et Rerum* complete what must have been a most laborious task.

All that is left to me is the pleasant duty of congratulating the two editors on the production of a volume that is in every way worthy of the high traditions of their order; and to wish them further success in the task they have set themselves in the face of so many setbacks and disappointments. May they and their successors long continue to illustrate from ancient documents the tradition of piety, sound theology and humanistic learning which has come down to them from those who in past centuries have striven to live religious lives based on the simple but inspiring *Regula Sancti Augustini*! A. G.

Politics

ELECTION AND REPRESENTATION. By James Hogan, D.Litt. Cork University Press. Oxford: Blackwell. 1945. 15s.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. A Symposium. New York: Fordham University Press. 1945. 75 cents.

A HISTORY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY. By The Right Hon. Sir Henry Slesser. London: Hutchinson. 1944. 12s. 6d. net.

No one in Ireland was better qualified than Professor Hogan to undertake the task which he has triumphantly accomplished in the first of the books listed above. A highly trained and experienced historian with a strong bias towards philosophico-political theory, he has also played a distinguished part as an active politician in a time of considerable stress, and knows better than most people exactly how political institutions work in practice. The first point to emphasise about this book is its entire objectivity. Though it deals with a subject which has been the source of much controversy and which touches on still more thorny disputes, it never betrays the slightest sign of bias in the direction of any cause or party. This point is stressed at the outset in order that no potential reader may be induced by fear of such bias to neglect a book which will probably be ranked henceforth as the wisest and sanest piece of political reasoning to be produced in Ireland in this generation.

Professor Hogan's work is far from being the sort of dry technical treatise that its title might seem to imply. Its introduction of forty pages at once sets the high philosophic note which is maintained throughout; it is a justification of representative democracy both as a highly advanced and at the same time traditional method of government and as the one best suited for modern societies, and it ends impressively with the warning that the social equality now so eagerly sought presupposes as its essential condition a solid democratic foundation in the political sense and a living democratic experience. The third and fourth of its four chapters resume and elaborate further these themes. Part of the third is an essay of fifty pages

on " Edmund Burke and Representative Government " which constitutes a most valuable historical treatise in itself, but which is also closely related to the book's main theme. The fourth deals with certain current problems, such as those presented by national minorities and what is here called occupational, but is perhaps more familiar as vocational, representation. Every chapter provides material for close study and reflection, even where difference of opinion may be possible in detail.

The real core of the book is the problem of proportional representation as applied to parliamentary elections in Ireland. Professor Hogan starts off from the incontrovertible fact that the " majority " system, as practised in England, is the one which has historically evolved step by step with the evolution of representative democracy. The system in use in this country was introduced by way of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and is really an offshoot of the theory of individualism and liberalism worked out by nineteenth-century English Radicals under the influence of Rousseau. Its logical assumption is that the *individual* is the proper unit or component of the community. Fully carried into effect, it lands its exponents into a preference for direct democracy and a rejection of representation altogether, though the latter can be fully justified both by sound theory and by history. Professor Hogan in a skilful statistically-documented study of the Irish experiment demonstrates that the much-vaunted success of proportional representation in this country has in fact been strictly limited. That it has not been a disastrous failure, leading to total breakdown and possible anarchy, he shows to have been due to two factors. One is that the Irish system has not been pure proportional representation at all. This arises from the number of constituencies returning less than five members, which was ten from 1923-1935 and has since the latter date been fifteen out of a total of thirty-four. The other factor is that the predominance of the Treaty issue in our politics up to about 1935 or 1936 ensured the existence of two large powerful parties and thus defeated the normal trend of the system towards a multiplicity of small minority groups.

Even with these limiting factors, Professor Hogan believes that the system has on the whole been dangerous in its operation and is likely to become more so as the Treaty issue vanishes altogether. The danger may easily turn into a complete disaster for democracy, and our politicians should pay close attention both to Professor Hogan's reasoned diagnosis of it and to the remedies he suggests. Personally I am inclined to feel that, if anything, he is too tender towards proportional representation. He looks with favour on the three-member constituency and proposes the setting up of several to return only two members. There is one grave defect in all large constituencies, which he does not discuss. This lies in the difficulty they present to the candidate in making himself really known, and their consequent tendency to lead to the mechanical type of mass-electioneering which is one of the curses of modern politics. The smaller the constituency and the closer its contact with its representative, the better. All that is needed by way of safeguard is the simplest system of alternative vote. In any case there must be reform on the lines suggested in this book, and it cannot come too soon.

The Fordham University symposium on de Tocqueville is the first in a series of publications issued by the Burke Society in that University. Its occasion was provided by the recent elaborate edition of *Democracy in America* by Professor Phillips Bradley of Queen's College. Though slight in form and brief in content, these essays have considerable critical value, both as emphasising once more the solid and penetrating quality of the great French thinker's work and as pointing out where in certain details he was unable to do complete justice to American realities. One of the shortest of the essays, for example, is the fifth, on " Egalitarianism versus Constitutional Democracy " by Fr. Millar, S.J., but it illuminates

in a telling way the problem of social and economic equality touched on by Professor Hogan in his introduction. Another essay, entitled " Tocqueville on American Federalism " by Fr. Hartnett, S.J., shows how the French visitor underestimated the unity of the American nation under its Federal superstructure—a unity which, of course, was to be later challenged and vindicated in a terrible conflict. I cannot leave this suggestive booklet without quoting a sentence from Dr. N. Timasheff's essay on " Tocqueville in the light of contemporary Sociology " : " He also predicted that a time would come when two nations, the Americans and the Russians, would sway the destinies of half the globe, with the Americans representing freedom and the Russians despotism."

Sir Henry Slesser was a Labour member of the first MacDonald administration. He is thus able to view the subject of his book with the requisite calmness. There can be no denying the width of his knowledge and the shrewdness of his political judgment. Unfortunately the former here rather gets in the way of the latter. His book is not very well produced even for wartime, and is so stuffed with facts as to read more like a note-book, hastily put together, than an essay on a fascinating political drama. Beginning with the Tudor revolution and the Puritan origins of the Whig party, he comes down to the mournful eclipse of the present, marked by the publication in 1942 of the resolution on " The Liberal Goal ". It is an exciting story in which the hero changes character many times, and Sir Henry marks the changes effectively, even if he smothers them in a thick flow of chronological lava. Thus he shows that the first Free Traders were not Whigs but Tories, that Radicals like Cobden and Bright were bitter opponents of Ashley's factory legislation, that Disraeli was alone in denouncing the Poor Law Act of 1834, and that Repeal of the Corn Laws was in fact merely an alternative to higher wages. His references to Ireland are always interesting and sympathetic, and he seems to be unique in insisting that the Victorian party system was wrecked by the Irish question. The mystery-man of Liberalism in its latest phase was Chamberlain, on whom and Parnell Sir Henry very sensibly finds himself at odds with Mr. Garvin. He points out, too, that but for Chamberlain's defection from Gladstone the present triumphant Labour Party might never have come into being. M. T.

THE UNKNOWN STATE. A Plea for the Study of Government. By Lord Eustace Percy. Oxford University Press. 1945. 2s. 6d. net.

IN these Riddell Memorial Lectures Lord Eustace Percy argues that a revival of the study of government is " the most urgent need of the present day, and that universities have a special responsibility to make it a learned study ". This study, he thinks, has been evaded. We have been content to live our social life by instinct rather than by reason. Freedom at the last is based upon philosophy, upon a constant re-interpretation of certain basic truths about the limits of authority and the existence of rights and duties, both individual and governmental. And if it seems odd, in the light of the vast literature devoted to these problems, to urge that they are neglected, I take it that the lecturer would reply that attention has been focussed upon the wrong problems. We have attempted to escape from " the study of government into the study of some vaguer entity called ' society '." For him the only social science is political science. Other social sciences, such as economics and the new " science " of town and country planning, are ineffective unless set in a framework of political doctrine.

All this points to " more fundamental political study. But fundamental, not in terms of general theory, but in terms of present fact." What Lord Percy wants is a developed study of concrete political problems in the light of a Christian philosophy ; in fact what he desires is a Christian positivism. For in the last analysis the principles and purposes of government must be religious—if not Christian,

then the principles of some other religion like Communism. " The philosophy of government that I believe to be true is a Christian philosophy." He devotes his second lecture to the elucidation of " a Christian philosophy of government ". After careful study of the lecture, I must confess that I have failed to discover what this Christian philosophy is. Apparently " the classical Christian philosophies of government have gone wrong ". If this is so, it would be of the utmost importance to discover what the correct theory is. But I can find nothing except the vague suggestion that it has somehow been concretely, although imperfectly, achieved in the British Empire. This seems to be the conclusion suggested in the following statement :—

" It is certainly not fanciful to say that, while a modest view of the Christian State achieved this marriage of authority and democracy, more ambitious philosophies of Christian imperialism have constantly hindered and threatened to dissolve it—from the medieval wrangle over ' criminous clerks ' to the invention of modern democratic theory by the propagandists of the Counter-Reformation. For, ironically enough, it was the Jesuits, intent on proving the supremacy of Church over State, who first argued that, while priests derive their authority from God, princes derive it *only* from their people." (p. 26).

I am not concerned at the moment with " the modest view of the Christian State " worked out in England ; but something must be said about " the invention of modern democratic theory by the propagandists of the Counter-Reformation ". The views of English scholars on this matter seem to be due to the writings of J. N. Figgis. Although such views are constantly repeated, they have no historical foundation. That political power comes from God to the ruler through the people was a common view in medieval times. It was based on the study of Roman Law and was borrowed by the theologians from the " civilians ". It is absurd to speak of it as an invention of the Jesuits. It was held also by all the leading theologians of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is arguable that it had an *indirect* influence in shaping modern democratic theory, but it is not itself a democratic theory. St. Robert Bellarmine held the view that the people could not exercise political power and that there was a necessary transference to a ruler or a small number of rulers. It is unnecessary to say that no Catholic theologian held the view that princes derive their authority *only* from their people. Lord Eustace Percy is vague about what the Christian Church is. After all, if the hope for a successful social order lies in Christian principles, we must first be quite definite about what the Christian Church is and how it is related to the State. These are problems upon which people calling themselves Christians have held very different views.

The third lecture, dealing with " Experiments in Christian Positivism," gives some concrete applications to particular problems of the lecturer's principles. Although his examples are taken from Great Britain, his criticism has a much wider scope ; this third lecture is, I think, of very great interest. The analysis of actual legislation is both acute and illuminating. D. O'K.

Philosophy and Science

ERRORES PHILOSOPHORUM. By Giles of Rome. Edited by Joseph Koch. Translated by John O. Riedl. Milwaukee : Marquette University Press. 1944. $3.00.

This work is a thirteenth-century compilation (with some discussion) of the un-Christian elements in the philosophies of Aristotle and five of his Moslem-Jewish commentators. It is the work of an incisive mind clearly and accurately distinguishing the mistakes of the philosophers and correctly tracing most of them to their root in Aristotle's disbelief in the possibility of causation without preceding motion.

It is nevertheless the work of a disingenuous Aristotelean. Averroes is made the author of the execrated doctrine of the unity of the human intellect, for Aristotle's tottering toleration would not have stood the accusation of a new heresy. Yet the author had the acumen to discern with most modern scholars, had he desired, that this doctrine as the explanation of the famous obscure passage on the mortality of the mind as passive in the *De Anima* could best account for Aristotle's perplexity about the end of man, immortality, and freewill, and indeed logically followed on his Deism. But even if the *Errores* does not state the whole case against the adversaries, it is so acute in the charges it positively makes that most authorities regard it as one of the best of the rather few mediaeval works of philosophical criticism. It is, therefore, of great interest to the specialist in the history of philosophy. But to be able to use it he must be able to assign the critical spirit that it exemplifies to the right school. The question of authorship therefore is of crucial importance.

Professor Koch has examined all the available evidence and insists on the correctness of the traditional attribution to Giles of Rome, the great Augustinian eclectic. Mandonnet contended that the author was a Dominican. Professor Koch has no difficulty in disposing of most of his arguments and revealing here and there his wilfully imperfect scholarship. One point, however, of Mandonnet's is not so easily answered. The author of the *Errores* peremptorily rejects the doctrine of the unicity of form as an error ; Giles had virtually declared it an article of faith ! Professor Koch points out that Giles changed his opinion on this point at least once ; that is, he at one time at least doubted the doctrine. Yet, even allowing for his volatile temperament, is it likely that so keen a mind should be *thoroughly convinced* of flatly contradictory doctrines at different times ? Professor Koch has shown that Giles has at present easily the best claim to be considered the author. But some may not be satisfied that he has finally settled the question.

Meanwhile, however, this looks like the definitive edition of this work for the present state of mediaeval studies. The translation is excellent. The notes and critical essays are really informative and do not merely aim at defending the editor's opinions against subsequent editors.

It would, however, be well if scholars agreed on the title of this work. For there is equal manuscript authority and stronger reason drawn from mediaeval usage for entitling it, as Mandonnet does, *De erroribus philosophorum*. A. L.

MR. TOMPKINS EXPLORES THE ATOM. By G. Gamow. Cambridge University Press. 1945. x + 97 pp. 10s. 6d. net.

THE author is a professor of modern physics who mixes for us a cocktail of science and fantastic humour. The book is a sequel to *Mr. Tompkins in Wonderland*, published in 1939. The hero is a bank clerk married to the daughter of a professor who thinks it his duty to open the eyes of his ignorant son-in-law to the wonders of modern alchemy and to make him feel at home among such things as atoms and subatomic particles, saturated electronic shells, nuclear potential barriers, the annihilation of matter, and so forth. The author has illustrated the volume with his own hand, and he disarmingly admits that the pictures resulting from this bold effort may look somewhat crazy, and he goes on to say that after all the stories themselves are rather crazy too. Professor Gamow undoubtedly got a lot of fun out of writing and illustrating his book, and the fun will be shared by readers who have a good knowledge already of modern atomic theory. The book is semi-popular and therefore semi-technical and apt to give the general reader hard going in places. It was written some months before the end of the Japanese war and there is, naturally enough, no reference to the atomic bomb, but mention is made of the nuclear phenomenon on which the bomb depends, and there is an account of the scientific background. P. McL.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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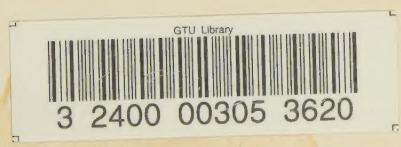
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